

**SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE ELDERLY IN
LIBYA: PERCEPTION, COMMUNICATION
AND DISCOURSE**

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ABSTRACT

Social Construction of the Elderly in Libya: Perception, Communication and Discourse

The thesis investigates the social status of the elderly in Libya and how it is co-constructed in the way elderly fathers interact and communicate with younger sons, elderly peers, and healthcare providers. In the Libyan society in Sebha (a city in the Southern part of Libya, Arab, Muslim and Bedouin) the elderly occupies significant familial and societal roles and posts.

The research sample consists of 13 elderly fathers and 16 younger sons who were employed in structured interviews. Another group of 6 elderly fathers and their 6 younger sons participated in semi-structured interviews. Naturally occurring conversations were tape-recorded between each elderly father and his younger son. The third group contains 3 groups of elderly peers whose conversations were tape-recorded. Moreover, a group of 3 elderly patients and 3 younger physicians was interviewed and tape-recorded conversing separately with each other. The Conversation Analysis method (CA) supplemented by the social constructionist approach was adopted as a method of data analysis in this study.

The findings reveal that elderly fathers are perceived by their younger sons as the family backbone, leader, advisor and decision maker. In contrast, elderly fathers perceive their younger sons as always independent, regardless of their (fathers and sons) health, wealth, and literacy. The findings also show that the large size of Libyan families provides a better chance for elderly fathers to live in extended families, and hence have more familial integration, interaction, and activation. The analyses of the elderly father/younger son conversations unveiled that elderly fathers talk more (time-span) than their younger sons. They also use considerable overlap and interruption to

seize their turns. Elderly fathers address their younger sons with the least preferable repair strategy (other-initiated other-repair), and adopt bald and unmitigated utterances when producing their refusals. They prefer to produce their requests to their younger sons in 'order' and/or 'order then explain' styles. In comparison, younger sons very rarely overlap, interrupt, or raise their voices when conversing with their elderly fathers. Furthermore, they do not produce verbal rejections to their elderly fathers' demands. Interestingly, sexual and romantic issues could not be raised between elderly fathers and their younger sons. In contrast, elderly - elderly conversations may include romantic issues and poetry. Elderly interactants freely perform overlap, interruption, quarrels, and raising voices when interacting with each other. Finally, elderly patients as well as their younger physicians tend to socialise their institutional settings by avoiding producing medical or colloquial terms that may relate to sex, i.e. sexual organs. Moreover, they summon each other with social labels (hajji/son) rather than institutional labels (sir/doctor). The thesis concludes that the elderly in Libya interact and communicate in accordance to their social status and perception. Elderly fathers, younger sons, elderly peers and healthcare providers co-construct the elderly status in their everyday talk-in-interaction settings.

This research throws new light on the language and discourse of the elderly when they are perceptually and interactionally integrated in their families and societies. This research can be regarded as a pioneer in exploring interaction and discourse of the elderly in society. The research contributes to a variety of different disciplines. Sociolinguists and psycholinguists can be interested in this research as it provides data and analysis purely relevant to their area of study. Sociologists and policy makers can also benefit from this research and see what they should do with the elderly mistreatment and disintegration phenomena prevalent in many societies.

DEDICATION

TO THE GREATEST WOMEN IN MY LIFE, WHO SUPPORTED ME
COUNTLESSLY, ENDLESSLY, SELFISHLESSLY AND PRICELESSLY:

MY MOTHER: *ISHWAYKHA*

AND

MY WIFE: *JAMILA*

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Author’s declaration

I certify that, to best to my knowledge, all the material in this thesis represents my own work and that no material is included which has been submitted for any other award or qualification.

Signature:.....

Date:.....

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1. Chapter One: Introduction

1.1. Introduction

This chapter gives a detailed foreword to this research. First there is statement on the case of this research. The motivation for and the purposes behind this study are also discussed in this chapter, together with the number of different methods of data collection and data analysis used. The methods are introduced and an explanation given of how they serve the purposes of this study. The study's significance and importance of the relevant literature and disciplines, e.g. sociolinguistics, are illustrated in this chapter. Finally, the chapter displays how this study is organised, prepared and conducted.

1.2. Statement of the Case

This researcher has noticed differences in elderly interaction and communication, with younger sons, elderly peers and healthcare providers, in different societies. Studies in this field, the language of the elderly (social psychology of language), have in principle blamed ageing as the main factor affecting how elderly people interact and communicate in society. In this study, the researcher will investigate another explanation, which may be significant. It is the social construction of the elderly. The social status of the elderly and how they are perceived in society play a key role in the way elderly people interact and communicate. It is notable that the social status of the elderly depends on cultural values, religious instructions, the economic situation and/or legal considerations of the society in which the elderly live.

It could be argued that the relationship between the elderly and other social and institutional agents, e.g. younger sons, elderly peers and healthcare providers, in the society is reflexive. The elderly have their own image in a society, and the society

depicts an image of the elderly in their everyday talk-in-interaction settings. It is noticeable that similar relationships exist between any group of people and society (called, in the literature on Conversation Analysis CA, membership categorisation) (see Sacks, 1992; and Silverman, 1998; 2001).

Therefore, the researcher would assume that society (culture and social values, religion, beliefs, economics, politics, education, etc.) participates in constructing the characteristics of its elderly by considering them powerful/powerless, active/inactive, creative/pensioners, productive/redundant, breadwinner/burden, useless/consultant, integrated/disintegrated, etc. That, in turn, would affect the interactional and communicational performance of the elderly. Consequently, the elderly would carry out linguistic and behavioural interactions in society that reflect the social status they have acquired from that society. The researcher could argue that elderly folks who are powerful and active within the family and socially would interact and communicate with younger sons, elderly peers or healthcare providers very differently from powerless and/or inactive elderly.

This research will examine the perceptual, communicational and discoursal relationship between a sample number of elderly fathers, younger sons, elderly peers and younger healthcare providers in Sebha, Libya. The investigation will include data on the social, cultural, traditional, religious and legal values of the elderly in Libya, how social and institutional agents in Sebha perceive the elderly, and how they co-construct the image of the elderly in their daily talk-in-interaction settings. It should be stated that this research is not concerned with judging its respondents' social and cultural values and whether they are acceptable or not. Similarly, comparing and contrasting the respondents' values with other societies and ethnics' beliefs and values do not feature here. Hence, the theme of this research is to find out if there are

any relationships between the value and perception of the elderly and the way the elderly interact and discourse in societies; and subsequently, how social and institutional actors (elderly fathers, younger sons, elderly peers and healthcare providers) co-construct the status of the elderly in their daily communication and discourse.

1.3. Purposes and Methods of the Study

This study aims to explore the social status of the elderly in Libya, and how that status is co-constructed through the communication and discourse between elderly fathers, younger sons, elderly peers and healthcare providers. In addition, the study is motivated to examine the characteristics of discourse involving the elderly in Libya. This research aspires to introduce data and findings on the elderly relating to their perception, communication and discourse in Libya to the literature of sociolinguistics and other interested disciplines, and to provide data and findings appropriate for comparison and contrast with that on the perception, communication and discourse of the elderly in other societies of different ethnic groups.

Accordingly, this research focuses on answering a number of research questions. The main question is how a portrait of the elderly in Libya can be co-constructed through communication and discourse between elderly fathers, younger sons, elderly peers and younger healthcare providers. Moreover, questions on how society in Sebha perceives the elderly, and what are the linguistic and interactional features of discourse involving the elderly that could demonstrate an influence of the social status of the elderly are also examined in this research. The research poses further questions: what is the position of the elderly in Sebha, and accordingly, how can the discourse of the elderly in Sebha, Libya be characterised?

To answer these questions, the research will employ a number of data collection methods (*triangulation*). Both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies will be included. In the quantitative part, the research will implement structured interviews on a sample of elderly father and younger son respondents, whereas the qualitative part will include methods such as non-participant observation, semi-structured interviews and audiotape recording. These methods will employ different respondent samples: elderly fathers and their younger sons, elderly peers, and elderly patients and their younger physicians. Selected extracts from the audiotaped conversations and semi-structured interviews will be transcribed in accordance with CA conventions. The research will adopt the Conversation Analysis method CA supplemented by the social constructionist approach to deal with data that emerged from the interviews and the audiotape recordings, i.e. measure the sequencing and organisation of conversational norms (turn-taking, overlap, interruption, repair, preference organisation and adjacency pairs, etc.), verbosity, style and structure, etc. The social constructionist approach will supplement CA to analyse the transcribed extracts in relation to the interactants' social and cultural values.

1.4. Significance of the Study

It can be suggested that the significance of this study may be its contribution to the field of the language of the elderly. The study takes the initiative to look at the way the elderly communicate and their discourse in familial and societal settings. Most researchers in the literature of elderly language have approached their elderly respondents in their institutional settings (see Coupland, Coupland, and Giles, 1991; and Nussbaum and Coupland, 1995; among others). Moreover, researchers have concentrated chiefly on language impairment and deficits which they mostly relate to

ageing. In contrast, this study concentrates on the familial and social status and role of the elderly and how such status and role may relate to the way the elderly interact and communicate with younger sons, elderly peers and healthcare providers. Most research on elderly communication and discourse has been conducted on Western respondents, in European languages and regions. Hence, this research can be considered significant, as it will be implemented on different respondents, language and settings (Arab, Muslim and Bedouin) in Sebha, Libya. By and large, this study's theme of exploring the social construction of the elderly, and the perception, communication and discourse involving the elderly could open the doors for further researchers to investigate similar issues that involve social (children, wives, husbands, etc.) and/or institutional agents (teachers, governors, policewomen, etc.) other than the elderly.

1.5. Organisation of the Study

Once the research proposal had been approved, the researcher began to establish the basics of his study. Firstly, a timetable of the various stages was made. This included deciding on who would be the respondents, and then what would be the appropriate methods and time to approach them. The schedule (questions) and materials (word processing of the structured and semi-structured interviews' questions, preparing the tape recorders and note books, etc.) of data collection methods was prepared. The next stage consisted of travelling to Libya and making contacts with the respondents, where gatekeepers were employed in some settings. Before conducting interviews and recordings, permission from the local authority (via the University of Sebha), and respondents' consents were obtained for both protection of the researcher and ethical considerations. Having accomplished all interviews and recordings of naturally

occurring conversations, the quality of the collected data was checked before departing from Sebha. The stage of classifying and coding the data for analysis then took place. The next stage consisted of analysing the data. Having completed the analysis stage and reached findings, the writing up process began. The writing up stage helped the study appear in a coherent, cohesive, harmonious and rhetorical fashion.

This research consists of ten chapters. The first chapter (introduction) introduces the research's statement, aims, methods, significance and organisation. In the second and third chapters, the researcher reviews the literature of elderly communication and discourse in different notions and contexts (in Chapter 2), and gives a detailed background (Chapter 3) about the language of the elderly, status, roles, social, cultural, religious and legal values and other values in an Arab, Muslim and Bedouin society in Libya. Chapter 4 discusses methodological issues (survey and case study) and the advantages, disadvantages, and validity and reliability of the methods of data collection employed in this research (non-participant observation, semi-structured interviews, audiotape recording, and structured interviews). Chapter 5 introduces the method of data analysis (CA) (advantages, disadvantages, validity and reliability, and complementary of CA and social constructionist approach). Chapters 6, 7, and 8 contain the analysis. The analysis of data obtained by the structured interviews is introduced in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 is devoted to the data from the audiotape recordings of the naturally occurring conversations and Chapter 8 includes the analysis of data acquired by the semi-structured interviews alongside some extracts from the audiotape recordings. The findings are introduced and discussed (in relation to the literature) in Chapter 9. The final Chapter (10) includes a summary of the study and findings, implications of the study, and directions for future research.

2. Chapter Two: Review of the Literature

2.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature on different aspects of the elderly. It discusses in detail a number of definitions of the elderly, and explores the features that may characterise interactions, communications and discourse involving the elderly in both social and institutional settings. Cross-generational, intergenerational and institutional perception and attitudes towards the elderly are also dealt with here, as well as language deficits and theories related to the elderly. Finally, the chapter explores the social, cultural, political and religious values of the elderly in different societies around the globe, and how the elderly are perceived and communicated with by younger generations, their own age group and healthcare providers in those diverse and divergent ethnic groups and societies.

2.2. Definitions of “Elderly”

The question raised at the beginning of this research is, “who is elderly?” When and how can we categorise someone as elderly? In order to increase the validity and reliability of this study, an attempt is made to establish an agreed age between the elderly in Libya and of those in the literature. It is argued that the decision that someone is elderly can be backed up biologically. Unicent (1995) states that ‘any living organism has a developmental pattern of physiological change that takes place over time, and that can be described as ageing’ (p.15). Furthermore, ageing can be defined as a normal ‘kind of prolonged terminal illness which has no remedy during its process’ (Tout, 1989:5, see also Tout, 1993). Elderliness may also be defined by culture, and be culture specific (70 can be the age of elderly in some cultures, whereas in others elderliness could begin from the age of 45) (Maxim and Bryan, 1994). The

social construction perspectives define the elderly in relation to their social status and perception. Depending on the construction of the society they live in, a person from Libya aged 55+ may be defined and dealt with (interactionally and communicationally) as an elderly person, for the sake of respectfulness and prioritisation. By contrast, people in other societies such as in the West, who are aged 70 and under, may dislike being labelled as elderly, to avoid the negative attitude towards and perception of the elderly in their society (see Bond, Coleman and Peace, 1993; Tout, 1989; and Krug, et al., 2002).

The average life expectancy and health deterioration could be a standard of measuring elderliness as well. Ward (1979:9) assumes that 'old age may be defined functionally as a substantial change in the individual's capacity to contribute to the work and protection of the group' (cited in Tout, 1989:6). Moreover, elderliness can be associated with retirement age; hence, elderly people can be identified as pensioners. This also differs from society to society. In Libyan society, for instance, retirement is possible (as an option) from the age of 60, and is compulsory at the age of 65 (Al-Tir, 1992). In contrast, retirement in UK legislation, for instance, starts at the age of 65 for men, and 60 for women (Bond, Coleman, and Peace, 1993). Thus we see that the age of elderliness seems to be relative rather than absolute (Maxim and Bryan, 1994; Bengtson et al., 2000; and Krug et al., 2002). In this research, elderly subjects will be selected at the age of 60+, as this appears to be culturally, socially, legally, biologically and chronologically accepted as the age at which elderliness begins in Libyan society.

2.3. Language, Society, Health and the Elderly

2.3.1. Introduction

This section discusses different issues concerning the elderly. Characteristics and features, i.e. linguistic, discoursal and communicational, and decremental features of the language of the elderly are discussed in this section. The section also explores the social and familial perception of the elderly in societies of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. We investigate the perceptual situations and circumstances of the elderly when they interact and communicate in institutional settings, i.e. hospitals, and nursing homes, together with the attitudes of the elderly and healthcare providers to each other and the perception of elderliness by the elderly themselves.

2.3.2. Language of the Elderly

2.3.2.1. Introduction

A remarkable amount of research has been conducted on the language of the elderly. This subsection discusses the linguistic features that may characterise their language, when they talk with younger people, their elderly peers and healthcare providers in everyday social and institutional settings. Interactional and communicational characteristics of the elderly's language are also investigated here. Finally, the subsection makes reference to a number of language and communicational diseases and disorders, e.g. aphasia, dementia, that are mostly associated with the elderly and ageing.

2.3.2.2. Linguistic Features

2.3.2.2.1. Secondary Baby Talk (BT) and Inverted-U Model

As defined by Ferguson (1964; 1977), baby talk (BT) is a simplified speech register with special lexical items (e.g. “choo-choo”) and morphemes, words and constructions modified from adult speech (e.g. “Mummy loves you”) (cited in Caporael, 1981:876). Baby talk is also remarkable for its high pitch, exaggerated intonation and rapid pitch variation (Coupland et al., 1991; Caporael et al., 1983; Caporael and Culbertson, 1986; and Brown, 1977). Moreover, baby talk can be distinguished from non-baby-talk by several features, i.e. BT primarily contains simple vocabulary, simplified grammar, increased repetitions, kind words, imperatives, and tag questions to make no more alternatives to the recipient. BT sentences seem to be shorter and with different verbal content than non-baby-talk sentences (cited in Caporael, 1981:883). It can be addressed to prelinguistic infants, children learning language, animals, and for some reasons, adults. Baby talk can also occur in interactions between close friends and lovers (Caporael, 1981).

Caporael and colleagues have studied baby talk addressed to institutionalised elderly people. These studies have been declared as the only systematic studies on the secondary use of baby talk (Caporael et al., 1983). It has been reported (Caporael, 1981) that the frequency of caregivers using BT when talking to elderly care receivers scores up to 20 per cent, and that BT is indistinguishable when content-filtered from primary baby talk (cited in Coupland et al., 1991:17). It is argued that addressing baby talk to elderly nursing-home residents can be received in two ways by the addressees. On the one hand, it can be interpreted by an elderly addressee as nurturance and affection; on the other hand it can be perceived as an insult, demeaning, and ‘a

depreciatory message signalling the powerlessness of the addressee' (Brown, 1977; Ferguson, 1977) (cited in Caporael, 1981:877).

It is argued that caregivers with a low comprehension of elderly people's social activity would be expected to use baby talk to communicate with the elderly. In addition, Caporael (1983) has found that elderly residents (her informants) with low functional ability scores preferred being addressed with baby talk (p.752). Nonetheless, it could be argued that caregivers' adoption of BT for interacting with elderly people might be influenced by their stereotypical perception of the elderly (Brewer et al., 1981).

It is observed that people in later life show some linguistic behaviour related to children – implicit in the 'inverted-U model'. This observation is also established in the myth of the 'second childhood' (some of the characteristics of elderly speech, higher vocal pitch and lower speech rate, are noticed in younger children as well) (Coupland et al., 1991: 12-13).

2.3.2.3. Interactional and Communicational Features

2.3.2.3.1. Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT)

The Communication Accommodation Theory discusses some interactional and communicational characteristics and strategies used in intergenerational elderly interaction and communication. For instance, younger interactants, when communicating with the elderly, contextually change their language for the purpose of increasing or decreasing differences between them (convergence and/or divergence) (Giles and Powesland, 1975 in Coupland et al., 1991). The young attune their speech to the elderly to augment or reduce the social and sociolinguistic distance between them.

2.3.2.3.2. Talkativeness and Off-target Verbosity

Associating increasing age with talkativeness is debateable (see Ruscher and Hurley, 2000; and Kemper, 1994; Kemper et al., 1989; 1995; 1996). Nonetheless, talkativeness and manipulation of the time-span of conversations can be identified in interactions involving the elderly, especially women interactants, who are expected to be more silent than men (see Thorne et al., 1983; and Kramer, 1974). Gold et al. (1993) suggest that sheer talkativeness is necessary but not sufficient for off-target verbosity (cited in Ruscher and Hurley, 2000:143). Talkative speakers with on-target verbosity receive less negative impressions and attract more attention from their listeners than those with off-target verbosity.

According to Gold et al. (1994) off-target verbosity is characterised by ‘excessive wordiness and the inclusion of irrelevant materials into the narrative’ (cited in Ruscher and Hurley, 2000:141). Elderly people are negatively stereotyped with this interactional behaviour. Moreover, stereotyping elderly people with off-target verbosity may lead to relating further negative behaviours, connected with off-target verbosity, with the elderly, e.g. ‘forgetful, lonely, unhealthy and foolish’ (Ruscher and Hurley, 2000:142, see also Gold et al., 1988).

2.3.2.3.3. Cross/Intergenerational Interaction and Communication of the Elderly

It is suggested that elderly individuals may exhibit distinguishable interactional characteristics. For example, in intergenerational settings, they like to talk about their past ‘good old days... before your time’ (Harwood et al., 1995: 146). In a contrastive study, Coupland et al. (1991) have noticed that May, aged 79, did not talk about age, but about her activity and independence when she spoke to Nora (82 years) “*so er (.) we’ve got our Christmas party next Friday*”; meanwhile, when talking to Jenny (38

years), May talked about her past, “ *I’ve been married but I’ve been a widow twenty (.) twenty-one years now it’s going on for twenty-two*”, and also shows her dependence on others (i.e. her daughter) (Coupland and Coupland, 1995: 83-88). Moreover, studies report that cross and intergenerational discourse amongst the elderly includes PSDs (painful self-disclosure) communicative phenomenon. Coupland et al. (1988) define PSDs as where ‘elderly people address bereavement, severe ill health, immobility, loneliness, disengagement and an assortment of family, financial and social troubles’ (cited in Bonnesen and Hummert, 2002:276).

2.3.2.3.4. Institutional Interaction and Communication of the Elderly

Other linguistic and interactional features have been identified in interactions between health carers and elderly patients. Such discussion mainly concentrate on the care task objectives ‘task-oriented talk’: the elderly utterances of (questions, answers) about symptoms, the physicians’ utterances (questions, answers) about prescriptions and the nurses persuading (using BT or other powerful forms of talk) their elderly patients to follow the prescription. Absence of talk has been also noticed in nursing home elderly residents (Nussbaum and Coupland, 1995). In institutions other than health ones, Unicent (1995) describes it as incomprehensible for him, when he was a teenager wheeling his disabled father’s wheelchair into a cinema, to be asked to take responsibility for the prime authority figure in his life, when he was asked over his father’s head whether he [the father] would like a smoking or non-smoking seat (p.20).

2.3.2.4. Decremental (Pathological) Features

Some studies on language and communication used by the elderly members of society are interested in the decremental and cognitive (language pathology, e.g. Alzheimer’s,

Parkinson's disease' Huntington's chorea, senile dementia and related aphasia) aspects that can be associated with ageing (Emery and Emery, 1983; Cummings et al., 1985; Beasley and Davis, 1981; Giles et al., 1990; and others). A number of experimental studies on elderly linguistic performance – the Deficit Paradigm – reveal that there are some differences between elderly voices and the voices of younger people, which are 'regularly discriminable' (Coupland et al., 1991:9; see also Coupland, Giles, and Wiemann, 1991: 87-88). Other studies, for instance, Gordon and Clark (1974), have found that elderly people – the study's informants – have a lower level of information recall. Other studies show lesser levels of understanding in elderly people. Emery (1986), for example, suggests 'a direct relationship between language deficit and age' (cited in Coupland et al., 1991:12). Moreover, it is suggested (Kemper et al., 1996) that older people may be unable to adjust their speech, which implies (Furnham and Pendleton, 1983; and Ryan et al., 1986) that with increasing age, 'older adults experience cognitive losses that result in a loss of flexibility in language processing' (cited in Gould and Shaleen, 1999:398).

2.3.3. Society and the Elderly

2.3.3.1. Introduction

Projected statistics show that the population of people aged 60+ will be increasing dramatically in both developed and developing countries: from 542 million in 1995 to 1.2 billion in 2025 (Krug et al., 2002:125). There is considerable research on the social psychology of language that discusses communication and discourse amongst the elderly (stereotype perception of the elderly, masculinity, egocentrism, social identity of the elderly). Such studies have also discussed the social relationships between elderly people and their inevitable partners in society: elderly peers (cross-

generation), younger adults (intergeneration), and healthcare providers (physicians and nurses in hospitals and nursing homes). They also investigate how and why those partners perceive each other as they do. This subsection explores the literature on the social perception of masculinity, as all respondents of this research will be elderly fathers, younger male offspring, elderly peers, and male healthcare providers. Social identity of the elderly and some perceptual aspects and issues of the elderly, i.e. inter/cross-generational, cultural and familial and political, are also discussed in this subsection.

2.3.3.2. Masculinity

It is argued (Connell, 1995:67) that all societies have cultural accounts of gender, but not all have the concept of 'masculinity'. Masculinity can be identified in societies where men and women are unequal socially and officially. For example, in Arab societies (including those of the research's respondents, Libya) men's value is higher than that of women (Nyrop et al., 1973:110). Moreover, Islam awards men a more authoritative social and familial position over women: 'Men are in charge of women, because Allah hath made the one of them to excel the other, and because they spend of their property (for support of women)' (Koran, 4:34). Such a position is attributed to the physical and economical status of men. Masculine persons can be described as violent rather than peaceable, dominating rather than conciliating (Connell, 1995:67). Differentiation between men and women is visibly constructed in discourse. Coates (2003) postulates that men's talk amongst her subjects can be recognised by the topics raised (e.g. football) and swearing. Masculinity's cultural, social and sometimes political dominance and power can be recognised in men's talk, i.e. bald, unmitigated

speech, giving orders, offering advice, giving permission, etc. (see Coates, 1998; Saville-Troike, 2003; and Wetherell and Edley, 1999).

2.3.3.3. Social Identity

The social identity of the elderly (positive or negative) can be constructed from the individual's own self-esteem and society. Atchley (1989) suggests that 'emphasis is on the self as active, competent and creative for management of identity and the achievement of continuity through the threat of age' (cited in Ruth and Coleman, 1995:315). In addition, Shotter (1993b) states that human individuals '(re)make' and are '(re)made' by their social realities through interactions (p.11). The elderly may form their identity from their society's cultural values. For example, African-American culture evaluates the elderly most positively and portrays them with religious and supernatural significance, whereas in other cultures the elderly can be seen as burdensome (Coleman, 1999:62). It is stated (Berger and Luckmann, 1967:194) that 'identity is formed by social processes which are determined by the social structure; identity is maintained, modified and even reshaped by social relations' (cited in Ylanne-McEwen, 1999:417, see also Gergen, 1985).

Furthermore, Coupland et al. (1991) state the marking of age-identity that can be identified in communicative exchanges of ingroup and outgroup members, where categories are vigorously constructed is two-fold: firstly, age-categorisation process, which includes disclosure of chronological age, age-related category of role reference, and age identity in relation to health, illness and death, and secondly, the temporal framing processes, when the time-past perspective is added to current or recent-past states or topics; there is self-association with the past, and a recognition of historical, cultural or social change (pp.59-65).

2.3.3.4. Cross/Intergenerational Perception of the Elderly

The elderly's perception of themselves depends on their ability to cope with and manage their ageing (see Ruth and Coleman, 1996). Elderly people who perceive their elderliness positively will insist on their continuing role and effectiveness in their families and societies. By contrast, elderly people may perceive their elderliness negatively, especially when they lose their role and status in both the family and society. Marginalized and disintegrated elderly folk dislike the idea of being elderly. Similarly, the elderly may be perceived positively or negatively by the younger generation. A teenager aged 13 perceives his disabled old father as 'the prime authority figure in his life' (Unicent, 1995:20). On the other hand, the elderly may be perceived by the younger generation as old-fashioned and a burden.

2.3.3.5. Cultural and Familial Perception of the Elderly

Societies have constructed different social and cultural attitudes towards elderly people. The image of an old person, aged 60 or more, with a wrinkled forehead, bags under the eyes, grey hair (sometimes baldness in men), a curved back, and heavy steps, is perceived by society in two different ways: either optimistically and with respect for their wisdom, experience and heritage, or pessimistically as roleless pensioners, with psychological and physical disabilities (burdens), old-fashioned, and most importantly, their association with death – gerontophobia, which is used by Levin and Levin (1980: 94) to refer to 'fear of one's own ageing, of the elderly, and of association with death (cited in Coupland, Giles and Wiemann, 1991: 88). Etymologically, the term 'old' has different connotations: wisdom; endearment (old friend); conservatism (old guard); and surprisingly, the Devil (Old Nick) (Covey, 1988 in Coupland, Giles and Wiemann, 1991: 91). In fact the image of the elderly can

vary enormously from one culture to another - from 'feeble-mindedness' to 'wisdom', from 'weakness' to 'power' (Unicent, 1995:21).

It could be argued that elderly people in the Middle East are highly respected (Slater, 1964 in Maxim and Bryan, 1994). In Eastern societies, for example in Muslim communities, the elderly – although of course there are exceptions – still play an effective and active social role. It is notable that the Koran recommends younger people to respect and look after the elderly. Legislation in Libya, for example, takes into consideration any compromise or social treaty achieved by or between elderly people of families or tribes (further discussion on the elderly background in Libya is provided in Chapter 3 of this study). Concerning other ethnic groups and societies, Dannefer (1989) reports that in colonial America, octogenarians would dispense advice on successful ageing to younger people (cited in Coleman, 1999:65). Bengtson et al. (2000) claim that the elderly in many societies, especially those in the East, are still revered and protected (p.3).

In contrast, in modern life where industrialisation dominates (mainly in Western societies), the attitude towards elderly people is increasingly negative, perhaps for their lack of productivity (for they are not as productive as the younger generation). Moreover, socially, adolescents would and/or should quit their parents' home from the age of 16 - in which case parents will lose their role and power over them. Bond et al. (1993) suggest that the noticeable decline in family size and change in family structure have driven the elderly to increasing loneliness and decreasing family care. Nonetheless, some elderly people in the West may perceive their style of life in a very positive way, they have independence and leisure for example. Coleman (1999) suggests that elderly people in the West still have new opportunities, e.g. membership

of organisations, engagements in leisure pursuits and further education, traditional roles as grandparents and family advisers (p.65).

2.3.3.6. Political and Economical Perception of the Elderly

Generally, societies often treat elderly individuals like children. For example, elderly people obtain a reduction in consumer goods and transportation tickets. A traffic sign indicates children crossing the road and a similar traffic sign advises drivers of elderly (or disabled) crossing the road. In the UK, the elderly (60+) and children (under 16) are both allowed free medical prescriptions (Coupland et al., 1991:12). Furthermore, it is suggested (Bond et al., 1993: 13) that the historical modernisation and industrialisation processes resulted in lowering the status of older people in society (see also Bengtson et al., 2000; and Tout, 1989). Accordingly, the elderly are accused of lack of productivity, which in turn has associated older age with poverty (see Unicent, 1995:22-23). A comment from Costa Rica suggests that ‘modernisation has created institutions which have assumed the functions, tasks, and duties which previously the children fulfilled’ (Tout, 1989:12-13). Fischer (1978) summarises the political and economic status of the elderly in the pre-industrialised societies:

‘Non-literate in its culture, agrarian in its economy, extended in its family structure, and rural in residence. The old were few in number but their authority was very great. Within the extended family the aged monopolised power, within an agrarian economy they controlled the land. A traditional culture surrounded them with an almost magical mystique of knowledge and authority’ (cited in Bond et al., 1993:13).

2.3.4. Health and the Elderly

2.3.4.1. Psychological and Physiological Features of the Elderly

As with societies, psychologists and physiologists describe the psychological features of the elderly from different perspectives and stereotypes. Some psychologists have

negatively attributed ageing to a number of psychological disorders such as depression, egocentrism, frailty, which can make elderly folk dependent, tragic, ludicrous, have a slower mentally, grouchy, feel sorry for themselves or withdrawn (Tout, 1989; Unicent, 1995; Gould and Shaleen, 1999; among others). Consequently, psychologists have suggested changes in older people's self-perception (Bond et al., 1993:20). However, some studies have failed to find any significant evidence of change of personality due to age (Tout, 1989:7). Physiologically speaking, a number of studies reveal that ageing is significantly associated with particular symptoms and diseases. Disability and mobility-restricting handicaps, e.g. rheumatism, arthritis, angina, stroke, cardio-respiratory disease, fractured neck of femur and peripheral vascular disease, are prevalent amongst the elderly (Unicent, 1995; and Young et al., 1999). Nonetheless, it can be asserted that 'even the most chronically disabled have been found to be able to perform much of their own self-care and rehabilitation' (Tout, 1989:9).

2.3.4.2. Healthcare Providers' Perception of the Elderly

Institutionally, it is observed that health care providers (physicians and nurses) communicate with elderly patients in accordance with their own social perception of the elderly and the institutional power they acquire. It is reported that a number of healthcare providers in hospitals and/or nursing homes perceive their elderly clients as frail and needy, and consequently increasing incidences of mistreatment of elderly residents have been reported (see Krug et al. 2002; Tomlin, 1989; and Decalmer and Glendenning, 1993; 1997).

2.3.4.3. The Elderly's Perception of Healthcare Providers and Health Institutions

Some elderly people perceive healthcare providers and institutions positively as helping them to cope with, recover from and overcome diseases and symptoms associated with age. Hence organisations and communities dealing with the elderly are very greatly concerned with the quality of health services provided to their members. On the other hand, elderly people may perceive healthcare providers and institutions as significant of uncovering their weakness and neediness. Healthcare institutions are also perceived by the elderly as isolated, disintegrated and subsequently more vulnerable to mistreatment and abuse. Accordingly, recent reports on elderly residents of hospitals and nursing homes suggest that home-based rehabilitation and community and families care for the elderly may be more beneficial to them than health institutions (Krug et al., 2002; and Young et al., 1999).

Summary of the chapter

The chapter has explored the literature on the language and communication of the elderly. An inclusive and brief literature has been provided in this chapter. The theme of this study is related to broader area of different subjects, e.g. language impairment, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, sociology and policy-making, etc. that can directly or indirectly be related to the elderly. In addition, different cultures and societies' perception of and communication with the elderly have been mentioned in this chapter. The word limit requirement of this thesis has enforced this chapter to be comprehensive, and each section of it to be compact and concise.

3. Chapter Three: Background to the Roles, Status, Values and Language of the Elderly in Libya (Arab, Muslim and Bedouin)

3.1. Introduction

This chapter illustrates the positions and roles of the elderly in Libyan society. A detailed background on the historical, cultural and religious values in Libya is also reported in this chapter. Moreover, the chapter introduces other societal and familial values of the elderly, i.e. their economical and political status. The second part of this chapter discusses the language of conversational settings involving the elderly. Elderly fathers' way of talking with their younger sons, elderly peers' discoursal characteristics together with features of institutional discourse of the elderly in Libya are also pointed out. Furthermore, the chapter describes the conversational features of Libyan social ceremonies and activities, i.e. engagements, weddings, funerals, religious ceremonies, etc. involving the elderly. Finally, the chapter reports on the rhetorical characteristics the elderly in Libya employ in their social reconciliation initiatives, i.e. negotiations, mediation, and apology, and how the elderly establish social conventions thorough such activities.

3.2. Roles, Status and Values of the Elderly in Libya

3.2.1. Historical Roles, Status and Values

Libya is a North African country with a population of approximately five million. Almost all Libyans are Arab Muslims (Sanders, 1987). The great majority of Libyans are regarded as Bedouin or semi-Bedouin. It is recognised that there is no longer any nomadic Bedouin population in Libya nowadays (Al-Zuwyy, 1991:26). Despite being urbanised, most Libyans are still in touch with their traditional Bedouin culture and customs. They live in groups even in towns and cities. Sebha (the area in which the

research was carried out) is part of the province of Fezzan, which is situated in the South West of Libya, and it is mostly a sub-Saharan area with a population of more than half a million. Sebha is classified as the third most important city in Libya. In Sebha the Bedouin and semi-Bedouin mostly live in courts and districts that contain inhabitants from the same family and tribe. Nyrop et al. state that:

‘Traditionally the Libyans lived in a closed world relatively static to personal relationships, defined by kinship and tribalism.... Traditional urban society had not recognised social class distinction per se - that is, the distinction among self-conscious groups of people among lines of income, occupation and way of life. Instead, social distinction had followed family, ethnic, and tribal lines’ (1973:101-104).

Historically speaking, the elderly in Libya had significant familial and tribal roles and status. They preserve land for their families and tribe, and protect them from any invasion by other families or tribes. In the past the elderly acted as legal documentary certificates for the family’s and tribe’s properties and heritage. The elderly in Bedouin society are seen as repositories of knowledge, experience and narratives. Moreover, they are the family and tribe’s consultants. Relationships among families and tribes might improve or worsen depending on decisions made by the elderly. Elderly fathers in Bedouin society can intervene in their sons’ marriages, which may end in divorcing the daughter-in-law (Peters, 1990). The elderly also control the movements and the fate of their families and tribes. It can be postulated that such a historical role, the status and values of the elderly in Libya has remained unchanged and uninfluenced by European culture during the Italian colonisation of Libya. Therefore, Arab Muslim culture along with a tribal social structure remains effective and valid among the Bedouin and semi-Bedouin populations in Libya (Sanders, 1987; and Nyrop et al., 1973).

3.2.2. Social and Cultural Roles, Status and Values

El-Fathaly and Palmer report that 'the typical Libyan family consists of father, mother, single and married sons, unmarried daughters, grandparents, grandchildren, uncles, aunts, and cousins' (1980:23). Hence, most Libyan families are large. Within the family, the power and authority are centralised in the father or the oldest male, i.e. grandfather or son). Individuals subordinate their loyalty and faith to their family. An individual in Libyan society is identified through his family and tribe. Thus, the individual's good or bad deeds bring collective fame or shame to both the family and the tribe (El-Fathaly and Palmer, 1980:23-4).

In addition, Al-Kernawi and Graham (2003) postulate that a family unit in Muslim Arab communities is regarded as 'a continual source of support', and the family members may be involved and consulted whenever a family member is in need (p.85).

The common custom of blood vengeance among the Muslim Arab society can be another reason for familial and tribal solidarity and kinship. If a family or tribe member had committed homicide, the other members of those social units will be completely and inevitably accountable for this action, and revenge is sought from them as well as from the murderer.

Violating this authority of the father by any family member, e.g. a son can be considered as rebellion, and 'he would find little or no support among his agnates, whatever the extent of the provocation' (Peters, 1990:195-6). It is still the father who has the first and last word even on his son's personal affairs. Ward (1968) reports from Sebha in Fezzan that 'a young Fezzani owes his first allegiance to his father' (p.20). Disobedient sons may face neglect from and shame within their society. Abbadi (1976) states that a Bedouin son who disobeys his father can face gossip and calls from within his society that he is an unlawful and adulterous son (p.400-1).

Moreover, Peters (1990) suggests that a Bedouin man in Libya who 'denies' his father loses too many privileges for the practice to become widespread (p.196). Al-Zuwyy (1991) describes such social constraints in Bedouin and rural societies in Libya as an internal constraint system that can be attributed to the face-to-face- relationship, where everyone in the social organisation is known by his face and consequently, everyone fears being a subject of gossip (p.46).

3.2.3. Religious Roles, Status and Values

'Islam, the religion of virtually all Libyans, provides both a spiritual guide for individuals and a keystone for governmental policy', and therefore 'identification with the religion has always been strong among both the rural and urban population' (Nyrop et al., 1973:79). The Koran recommends younger people to respect and look after the elderly: 'The Lord hath decreed, that ye worship none save Him, and (that ye show) kindness to parents. If one of them or both of them attain to old age with thee, say not "Fie" unto them nor repulse them, but speak unto them a gracious word' (Koran, 17:23). Accordingly, parents are revered by their offspring in Muslim societies. Abbadi (1976) assumes that Bedouin sons take into consideration a belief in Allah and heaven and hell; therefore, they respect and obey their parents to gain access to Allah's heaven, and avert his hell (p.17). El-Fathaly and Palmer (1980) describe the values and behaviour of the Libyans as a 'function of religious background and attachment' (p.26).

3.2.4. Economical Roles, Status and Values

Fathers in Libyan society are considered the main financial and economical resource for their families. Most economic changes and progression can be attributed to the

fathers' planning and conduct. Offspring are culturally and religiously obliged to their fathers until they are able to work. Yet, younger sons still have to stay at the father's house even if they have their own income. Sons have the choice to stay at their father's house, if it is big enough, even after marriage. Peters (1990) reports that the Bedouin father builds a tent for his married son very close to his own tent, and the son has to have his meals and spend most of his time in his father's tent (p.190). Nowadays, fathers in Libya usually offer the flat roof of their house for the sons to build apartments on. Most married sons remarkably prefer to live as close to their parents' house as possible. This can save them journeys, as they are socially obliged to see and check on their parents every day.

Parents in Libyan society shoulder the responsibility for their sons' and daughters' weddings. Fathers are inevitably involved economically and financially with their family members. If the sons are in debt and are unable or refuse to pay back, it is their fathers who will be contacted and socially obliged to do the necessary, otherwise he and his family will be ashamed. Similarly, sons would not hesitate to take responsibility for their father's debts and pay them off, if the fathers are unable or dead. Interestingly, the financial relationship between a father and his son in Libyan society is not a lending and borrowing one.

3.2.5. Political (Legal) Roles, Status and Values

3.2.5.1. Familial and Tribal Authoritativeness

Despite the urbanisation that has occurred in Libya, social and tribal relationships built on blood ties and kinship still exist. It is suggested (El-Fathaly and Palmer, 1980) that the heads of social units (families, clans and tribes) in Libya have been involved in leadership roles in Libyan society since Ottoman times and up to the

revolution in 1969 (p.24). The elderly play a significant role in making contact and arrangements between the state and its citizens. Hence, the Libyan authority encourages the existence and flourishing of familial and tribal relationships and ties in order to ease its control and mobilisation of those social units via their heads and chiefs.

Consultancy is the main role played by the elderly in the process of making decisions in Libyan society. Moreover, mediation and tribal compromises, e.g. blood money, have an invaluable authoritative role performed by the elderly in Libya. Mediation is legal in a number of Arab Muslim countries such as Jordan, Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria (see Al-Kernawi and Graham, 2003; Abu-Nimer, 1996; Irani, 1999; and Salem, 1997). Similarly, the institutions in Libya such as police stations, prosecutors, courts, authorise any mediations and compromises achieved by the elderly. A number of mediation treaty documents reached by elderly tribesmen in Sebha have been approved and legalised by the court there (For documents, personal contact with the court administrative section, see appendix pp.237-252).

The roles of fathers within a family are also legally approved in Libyan society. Family members are required to obtain signatures, consents and/or pledges from their fathers in many situations such as marriage, studying abroad, applying for security jobs, etc. Interestingly, sons find it extremely hard and socially impossible to prosecute their fathers. It is very rare to find cases proceeding of sons suing their fathers in Libyan society.

3.2.5.2. Employment and Retirement Legislations

Employment legislation in Libya identifies the age of 65 as a retirement age for men and 60 for women. However, people aged 65+ can find private work, which they

mostly do. Retired employees can acquire a corner shop or farm licence. In fact there are no strong restrictions on retired elderly being recruited for any job. In addition, government employees and taxmen find it socially unacceptable to prosecute or charge elderly workers who violate the law. Advice and cautions are preferred instead.

3.2.5.3. Welfare Services

Public and private nursing homes for the elderly in Libya are virtually nonexistent. The idea of accommodating elderly parents in nursing homes is extremely disgraceful and unmentionable. The only nursing home in Sebha was closed down when it received almost no attention or residents, and its facilities were transferred to another nursing home in the north. The Libyan policy makers in elderly affairs massively rely on extended families to provide care for their elderly. Thus, welfare services provided for the elderly in Libya are mostly cash allowances, houses, farms, vehicles and equipment free or at a special price. The elderly can also benefit from some tax exemptions.

3.3. Language of the Elderly in Libya

3.3.1. In Younger Sons' Interaction

It should be noted that the literature on elderly discourse with younger sons is very brief. Furthermore, this literature has not included any systematic and naturally occurring conversation data that may show the organisation and sequencing of elderly father/younger son discourse. Consequently, the data cited in this subsection is a summary of existing data that is mainly ethnographic and anthropological. Al-Tir (1992) states that despite the changes that have occurred in Libyan families, the fathers still occupy a position of power and have the last word in the family (p.102).

Abbadì (1976:17; 397) reports a number of verbal actions that should not be produced by a Bedouin son: asking for marriage; raising his voice above his father's, and interrupting his father or arguing with him. Peters (1990) asserts that the Bedouin son in Libya 'if he speaks at all, will do so only to corroborate his father' (p.194).

Acting in their positions of leadership, fathers are responsible for making decisions in their families and all other family members must respect and carry out those decisions (El-Fathaly and Palmer, 1980:25). It is noticeable that father-son interaction and discourse are not remarkably changed or affected by a change in any of the interactant's age, marital, financial and/or educational status (Peters, 1990).

3.3.2. In Elderly Peers Interaction

The elderly peers in Libyan communities meet constantly. Elderly peers' assemblies can take place in mosques (prior to and after prayers), in front of a corner shop belonging to one of them, and/or in front or in one of the peers' houses. Because of the hot climate of Libya, and Sebha in particular, most elderly assemblies are held outdoors, where green and black tea is repeatedly served. Elderly peers' conversations are primarily on their personal, familial and tribal experiences, achievements and developments. Bedouin fathers are very proud of their sons. Therefore, they often like to narrate how their sons serve and obey them (Al-Zuwyy, 1991).

When the elderly peers meet, their activities can be entertaining, poetic, or of a debating or sermonic nature. They play dice (with stones) and cards. During such competitive entertainments, elderly voices may be raised and disputes on how and why the play should be conducted are likely to increase. The elderly in Libya may debate on both political and social levels, on national and international issues. Local and nationwide social events and incidents are argumentatively raised among them.

International issues like September 11th, the war in Iraq, and what is going on in Palestine are also discussed. In contrast, sermonic settings usually involve a quieter concentrating elderly audience who sometimes utter sorrowful religious expressions, e.g. *la howl lillah* (no ability but in God); *ina lillah wa ina ilayh rajeoon* (we are from God and to Him are going back), etc. and/or cheering expressions, e.g. *Allahu akhbar* (God is the greatest). In general, elderly peers' conversations can be characterised as being the most frank and liberated of any social and/or conversational norms.

3.3.3. In Institutional Interaction

Elderly interactions can also take place within institutional settings (civil service bureaus, hospitals, schools, police stations, companies), and for official purposes rather than informal ones, and with formal interactants (employers, employees, customers and colleagues). As discussed above, the elderly in Libya acquire notable official, religious and social status and value, which is very valid in such institutional settings. Younger workers (managers, staff) and clients call an elderly person *ameel/khali* (uncle); *amtee/khalti'* (aunty); or *hajj/hajjah* (if they have been on pilgrimage), whether they are known to them or not. It is considered rude and impolite to call an elderly person by his/her name. Elderly workers can often escape verbal or official punishments by their managers who will respect their social ranking.

3.3.4. In Social Celebrations Interactions

3.3.4.1. Engagements and Weddings

Most social celebrations in Libyan communities are endorsed by and participated in by the elderly. Engagements and weddings, for instance, should be agreed on by the elderly of both parties. Statistics from the Registrar in the Civic Centre in Sebha show

that 95% of men who have acted as best men (witnesses) in weddings between 1995 and 2003 are elderly aged 60-88 (the Registrar in the Civic Centre in Sebha, personal contact, 2003, see appendix p.253).

The father asks some elderly men from his family, tribe and/or neighbourhood to accompany him to formally meet the girl's father, who will also ask his elderly male relatives to attend the meeting. The two fathers should not talk during the negotiations, which involve the two delegates' elderly male companions. On reaching an agreement, the elderly negotiators return to the two fathers to obtain and confirm their satisfactory responses. Engagement and wedding meetings are usually opened by bilateral talks between the delegate members about their kinships and any past transactions and events between them. The formal opening and closing of engagement and wedding ceremonies usually involve reciting Koranic verses and Prophet Mohammed's sayings on the advantages of kinships and *halal* marriage.

3.3.4.2. Funerals

Elderly men and women as well as younger married men are obliged to attend relatives' and friends' funeral ceremonies. Comforters may need to travel hundreds of miles by car to give their condolences. Interestingly, the attendance of the head of a family can be a substitute for the attendance of other family members. Incapable fathers can send their eldest brother or son to represent them at funerals. A tribe may also elect a capable elderly to address their sympathy to the bereaved. The older the comforter, the more relatives he can represent, and vice versa. Religious expressions such as *inna lillah wa inna ilayhi rajeoon; Allah ghalib; Allahum igfeer lahu warhamh*, and comforting phrases such as *hathi aldounya wa hatha haluha; illi khalaf ma maat; albarakha fi rouskhum*, are repeatedly uttered among the comforters.

3.3.4.3. Religious Ceremonies

Muslims have two major *eid* parties every lunar year (*eid al-Fier* and *eid al-Adhaa*). After performing the *eid's* prayer, younger boys and men salute their elderly fathers and relatives, kiss their foreheads and hands, and ask for forgiveness and blessings. Elderly persons have the priority to be visited at *ied* and asked for forgiveness, blessings and supplications. Elderly peers smilingly and laughingly hug each other, kiss each other in cheeks and hands and exchange jokes and blessings.

3.3.4.4. Social Compromises

Planning and conducting social compromises between family members, families, clans and tribes in Libyan society, are missions predominantly attributed to the elderly (see appendix, pp.237-252). As mentioned above, treaties and agreements produced by elderly delegates are socially and legally valid. Faour (1997) and Salem (1997) assert that 'the resolution of individual, familial and group conflicts through mediation practice is common in the Muslim and Arab world' (cited in Al-Kernawi and Graham, 2003:82-3). Traditional social mediation activities may include: the *musalaha* (reconciliation), the *tahkeem* (arbitration), and the *wasta* (patronage-mediation) (see Faour, 1997; Irani, 1999; and Khaddouri, 1997). *Sulh* (settlement) is known as the major reconciliation ritual among Muslim and Arab people. Khaddouri (1997:845) defines the *sulh* in Islamic law as 'a contract (*akd*) legally binding on the individual and community, the purpose of which is to end conflict and hostility among believers, and to promote Islamic norms of harmonious individual and community relations' (cited in Al-Kernawi and Graham, 2003:83).

Social compromises and mediation are usually initiated and implemented by neutral and respected family(ies) or tribe(s). Apologies are first to be despatched by the

mediators who begin to negotiate between the two parties for a settlement. The elderly's knowledge of family and tribal history enables them and eases their mission to arrive at settlements. They remind the conflicting parties of similar cases in the past and how they were settled. Having achieved the settlement, the conflicting tribes are brought together and eat in mixed groups in order to strengthen the bonds between them (Peters, 1990:190).

3.4. Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has provided a summary of existing data concerning the social, cultural, historical, religious and political status and value of the elderly in Libya. Data of similar concerns about the status and value of the elderly in Arab, Muslim and Bedouin societies has also been mentioned in this chapter. Moreover, the chapter has offered a summary on the language of the elderly and their communication with younger sons, elderly peers and institutional agents. It is noticeable that the existing literature on elderly language and discourse in Libyan society in particular and in other Arab, Muslim and Bedouin societies in general, is mainly ethnographic and anthropological. This literature lacks systematic data that may include naturally occurring conversations, which can practically and linguistically examine the organisation and sequencing of elderly interaction and communication in Libya, and how the elderly status can be co-constructed through everyday, naturally occurring conversations. The analysis chapters (7 and 8) of this thesis are devoted to filling the literature gap by including naturally occurring conversations involving the elderly in Libya, and employing systematic analysis methods (CA and social constructionist approach).

4. Chapter Four: Methodology, Methods and Instruments of Data Collection

4.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses generic methodological approaches (case study and survey). It also examines the methods and procedures of data collection (observation, structured and semi-structured interviews, and audiotape recordings) employed in this research. It gives a detailed description on the subjects and informants who took part in this study. The chapter also investigates the notion of synchronisation and complementary (triangulation) of data collection methods. It is noteworthy that the methods of data collection have been adopted to serve the research's objectives and motives. They have been employed to investigate the social construction of the elderly in Sebha (Libya) and how it may affect the way they interact and communicate with younger sons, elderly peers and healthcare providers.

Methods like non-participant observation and interviews (structured and semi-structured) were implemented to study how Sebha society (Bedouin, Muslim and Arab) perceives the elderly and elderliness. Furthermore, the methods explore the role that elderly people play in their families and society. In contrast, audiotape recordings of conversations between elderly fathers and their younger sons, elderly peers and healthcare providers examine the linguistic and interactional features of the elderly discourse that may reflect the influence of their social status. The discourse of the elderly (subjects) will be characterised through those tape recordings. Finally, the chapter discusses practical issues such as procedures of data collection and encountered difficulties and the ethical considerations followed in this study.

4.2. Subjects

4.2.1. Introduction

Subjects participating in this research can be divided into three categories. The first group consists of 6 elderly fathers and another group of 13 elderly men. Subjects in this category are aged 60+ and are from the same social, cultural and religious background. The second category contains younger male subjects belonging to two groups. Group 1 includes 6 younger sons (of the 6 elderly fathers in the first category) aged 22-35 year old. The second group involves a sample of 16 younger males aged 20+ years. The third category is also composed of two groups: (1) 3 younger healthcare providers (physicians), and (2) 3 elderly patients.

<div>Subjects</div> <div>Methods</div>	Elderly fathers Category1	Younger sons Category2	Younger Physicians Category3	Elderly patients Category3	Total no. of subjects
Audiotape recording & semi-structured interviews	(group 1) 6	(group 2) 6	(group 1) 3	(group 2) 3	18
Structured interviews	(group 1) 13	(group 2) 16	–	–	29
Total of subjects	19	22	3	3	47

Table 4.1: The Categories and Numbers of the Research Subjects and their Distribution within the Conducted Methods of Data Collection.

4.2.2. Elderly Subjects

Firstly, it should be stated that the use of the term ‘elderly’ in this research is just for describing its subjects aged 60 or more. The term is not to confuse with others that describe ageing in many different terms and categories, e.g. older; younger old; older

old. The research subjects are divided into two groups: elderly fathers, and elderly peers. The persons here were 6 elderly fathers of 60-86 years old. They share the variables of gender (males) and elderliness (60+). In addition they hold the same Arab, Muslim and Bedouin social and cultural values and beliefs. But they have different levels of education. Two elderly father subjects were literate pensioners, whereas the other 4 subjects were illiterate. Two subjects were also pensioners, whereas 2 subjects were self-employed. Moreover, all subjects have the same range number of children (11-15 both males and females, single and married, employed and unemployed, and aged 4-43 year old, and all are educated. The father subjects are their families' main breadwinners and decision makers. However, they recognise the simultaneously voluntary and compulsory financial and decision-making participation of their adult offspring in the family. It is noticeable that these elderly father subjects were the key initiating figures of recorded conversations between them and their younger sons. They were also asked to give interviews held by this researcher.

The second elderly group is a sample of 13 elderly men of 63-81 years old. They share social and cultural values with the elderly father subjects of the previous group. Their level of education and economic status are varied. All these subjects are married and have between 5-14 children aged 5-31+ year old. Eight of the subjects are pensioners, whereas, the other 5 are self-employed (mainly owning corner shops). The 13 subjects consider themselves as principal family breadwinners. Structured interviews were used with this sample.

4.2.3. Younger Subjects

The first group of this category includes 6 younger sons aged 22-35. The subjects are educated (to university level), and occupy the middle positions in their families (3rd-

6th). The subjects represent 6 different cases (with their elderly fathers). Cases 2, 3, and 6 are married and living independently in their own houses located in the same court as their parents. In contrast, younger son subjects of cases 1, 4, and 5 are unmarried and living within their fathers' houses. All these subjects are employed, except case 4 who is a university student and case 5 who assists in his father's shop. Furthermore, the subjects possess social, cultural, and religious values and beliefs similar to their elderly fathers. These younger sons played a significant role, alongside their elderly fathers, in recording naturally occurring interactions between them. They were also interviewed after the recordings.

The second group of younger sons consists of 16 subjects with an average age of 29. They belong to the same background as the other informants. Most of these subjects have their own income. Half (8) of the subjects are employees and/or self-employed, 6 are self-employed, 1 is a graduate and 1 is a student. It is worth noting that all of the self-employed subjects run businesses that belong to their families, and chiefly sponsored by the fathers. Both the employed and self-employed subjects recognise themselves as additional breadwinners of their families. Concerning their social status, more than two thirds (11) of the subjects are single, whereas the remaining third (5) are married and have 1-4 children. Finally, the subjects were asked to respond to structured interviews.

4.2.4. Healthcare Provider and Receiver Subjects

Subjects in this category involve 3 male physicians and 3 male elderly patients. The 3 physicians are government employees, and working in Sebha's 2nd of March Hospital, in the Department of Surgery. They are 30-35 years old. They have social, religious and cultural values and beliefs similar to those of the above subjects (Arab, Muslim

and Bedouin). The physicians were asked to be tape-recorded while conversing with their elderly patients. They were also interviewed by the researcher.

In addition, the second group of this category consists of 3 elderly patients who were admitted to the hospital for surgical operations. The patient of case 1 was a diabetic and admitted for amputation of his left foot big toe. Patient number 2 was undergoing an appendix operation. The third patient was suffering from haemorrhoids and has surgery. The three elderly patients played a significant role by agreeing to their conversations with the physicians mentioned above being tape-recorded. They also were responsive to giving brief interviews, despite their health problems.

4.3. Methodological Approaches

4.3.1. Introduction

This section is devoted to discussing epistemological and methodological issues on case study and survey research methods. It explores the advantages and disadvantages of these methodologies. An argument on the validity and reliability of these methods is also provided in this section. The section ends with a discussion on the synchronisability (triangulation) of the two methodologies and how they can mutually serve the research's aims and objectives.

4.3.2. Case Study

4.3.2.1. Introduction

Case study is simply defined as an in-depth study of the cases under consideration (Hamel et al., 1993:1). It provides the opportunity for an exhaustive investigation of the characteristics of social life interactions and behaviour. Moreover, case study is strongly recommended for research where '*how*', '*when*', and '*why*' questions apply.

It is also favoured when real-life contexts that are out of the researcher's control are being researched (Yin, 2003). It is worth noting that the case study methodology the researcher has adopted for this research is considered to be an inductive approach that is qualitatively characterised. It employs qualitative methods of data collection (observation, semi-structured interviews, and tape-recording of naturally occurring interactions). Further, the collected data will be analysed qualitatively.

4.3.2.2. Types of Case Study Design

Case studies can be designed to conduct research on a single community, school, organisation, person, and/or event (Bryman, 2001). Yin (2003) states four basic types of designs for case studies: single case (holistic) designs, single case (embedded) designs, multiple-case (holistic) designs, and multiple-case (embedded) designs (pp39-62). The design of the research of this thesis targets a single group of people in society (the elderly). This single group has been studied interacting and communicating in three different situations (with younger sons, elderly peers and with healthcare providers). Each of these situations (or 'units', as called by Yin) has its own subjects. All these embedded units and subjects are serving the main single case of the elderly and providing data about it: how and why perceiving and interacting with the elderly in such a way.

4.3.2.3. Advantages of Case Study

It is postulated that case study has the advantage of providing deep and detailed information on the phenomena researched. It also allows investigations to be conducted in the natural environment of the phenomena with consideration given to the contexts where they occur (Yin, 1993, 2003). As an inductive approach, case

study has shown its ability to offer an exhaustive description for a researched condition, which allows an understanding of the empirical foundation of the theory (Hamel et al., 1993). Methodically, the data collection instruments (participant observation, interviews) employed in case study lead to an understanding of social real-life behaviour and/or discourse to be directly from the participants' viewpoint, which will lessen researchers' misinterpretations of those actors' behaviours and discourses.

4.3.2.4. Disadvantages of Case Study

Case study has been criticised for lacking generalisability and consistency features. A single or a small number of cases is considered inadequate to represent a large population of a researched category. How could six elderly subjects from Sebha (Libya) represent thousands of counterparts in the whole of the country or even millions of Arabic speaking Muslim Bedouin elderly around the world? It is argued (McCall and Simmons, 1969) that one case or a small number of cases should not be a sufficient or powerful test of a theory (cited in Hammersley, 1992:20). In addition, case study is accused of biasness. Researchers cannot control their own beliefs and cultural background from intervening in the research. They might subconsciously direct their informants to say or do what they want to hear or see and not what the informants would really want to project. Furthermore, the presence of researchers may denaturalise the research's context. Finally, case study research costs the researcher more money, time and physical effort, as he/she would personally do most of the job his/herself in collecting, transcribing and analysing the data.

4.3.2.5. Validity and Reliability of Case Study

The validity and reliability of case study has come under threat as its findings rely heavily on common sense and emerge from a small number of informants. To overcome such criticisms the researcher has conducted a survey, namely structured interviews, where a larger number of subjects equal to the case study subjects were surveyed. Furthermore, the flexibility of case study in seeking evidence from multiple sources of data collection (triangulation) has increasingly strengthened its validity (Yin, 1989:23; 1993:40). The practical insurance of obtaining data in case studies directly from informants, as researchers personally observe and/or interview their informants) would raise the validity of case study. Thus, case study can benefit from the validity and reliability of data collection and the analytical methods it may employ.

4.3.3. Survey Methodology

4.3.3.1. Introduction

Conducting a survey is a methodology that is preferred when standardised information is needed to be systematically collected from a large number of respondents (Aldridge and Levine, 2001). It employs a number of data collection methods, e.g. structured interviews. Surveys are mostly implemented for the purpose of testing an existing theory (deductive approach). They can also be launched for collecting data on issues of public life, e.g. on people's feelings, attitudes, beliefs, economic, educational and social status, and other aspects of life that a research project might want to investigate (Fink and Kosecoff, 1998; Moser and Kalton, 1993; and De Vaus, 1996).

4.3.3.2. Types of Survey Design

Survey design can be constrained by dependently related elements: *what* (data: quantitative/qualitative), *how* (questions type: closed/open ended), and *who* (sample: selection and size) questions should be asked. Moreover, the methods of data collection implemented in surveys can play a major role in designing surveys. For instance, designing a survey that employs postal questionnaires will be different in sample selection, size and questions structure from a survey that employs structured interviews as its data collection instrument (see Fowler, 2002:58-75).

Survey sampling can be identified and approached in different ways. The sampling strategy the researcher implements for this research is known as the *judgement sampling method*. 'The judgement sampling method is based on the judgement of the investigator rather than on any principle of random selection. The researcher identifies in advance the types of speakers to be studied and then seeks out a quota of speakers who fit the specified categories' (Milroy, 1987:26). Procedurally speaking, the researcher establishes initial contacts and asks them if they could nominate individuals who could offer their cooperation in the research. The judgement sampling method can be selectable because it is built on the basis of specifiable and defensible principles (e.g. sociological and geographical criteria: elderly fathers, Bedouin, Sebha, etc.).

The relatively small size of the sample makes it more practical and a better saver of time and effort. Sankoff notes that large samples tend not to be as necessary for linguistic surveys as for other surveys (cited in Milroy, 1987:21). In contrast, the judgement sampling method is criticised for lack of representativeness and generalisation. Samplers can be accused of bias in the selection of their sample.

4.3.3.3. Advantages of Survey Methodology

Survey methodology seeks its data directly from people. Its predominant method of data collection – questionnaire - reduces the amount of influence a researcher may have on his/her informants. Moreover, surveys' closed and open-ended questions allow a simultaneous collection of both types of data, quantitative and qualitative (Aldridge and Levine, 2001:29-30). The standardisation of asking questions in a survey provides social sciences with measurements (percentages, proportions) on an existing phenomenon in social life (e.g. the percentage of unmarried couples in England, or the percentage of unmarried younger sons aged 16+ living in their parents' house in Sebha, etc.). It is also advantageous that surveys can valuably and easily be broadened and extended in participants (sometimes to thousands) and geography (European Union countries), which moreover could enhance the chance of generalisability of findings in survey research. Survey questionnaires can provide their informants with better anonymity and protection than other methods, e.g. observation.

4.3.3.4. Disadvantages of Survey Methodology

Surveys are mainly accused of being artificial methodology. Researchers conducting surveys do not approach their informants in their real natural settings. Moreover, they ask questions and nominate answers (in closed questions) built on their viewpoints, and do not give their informants the opportunity to express themselves. The quantitiveness of survey methodology is criticised for its stoical analysis of the relationships between variables. It is argued (Bryman, 2001) that such static analysis is not built on the quality of events to people; rather it is built on a static view of the social world (p.78). Furthermore, the researcher would argue that survey researchers

still maintain an influence on informants. That can be detected in the choice of answers provided by the researchers. Despite the '*others...*' answer provided as an open choice, the preceding alternative words would narrow down and direct the informants' choice of wording. The researcher would consider this an indirect influence. Finally, a large number of informants and data in a survey may cost researchers more money and time to conduct their research.

4.3.3.5. Validity and Reliability of Survey Methodology

It could be suggested that surveys gain in validity and reliability being grounded in theory or experience (Fink and Kosecoff, 1998). In addition, if surveys have been piloted and retested and then applied again, this increases their validity and reliability. Survey research avoids influencing respondents or being biased, by not having direct contact with their informants (e.g. in self-completion and postal questionnaires) or being extremely structured and standardised (such as in structured interviews). Nonetheless, it is questionable that the absence of survey researchers from the research scene results in their misunderstanding of the research contexts. Remote survey researchers using postal questionnaires, for example, cannot be sure that their questions have reached their targeted informants and/or have been filled in by those informants without any influence from their partners or relatives. Reliability of surveys can be seen in their consistency and uniformity of data collection instruments and measures, and therefore in findings.

4.3.4. Synchronization of Case Study and Survey methodology

In recent decades, social science researchers have begun to call for simultaneous and complementary use of qualitative and quantitative methods in research. This process

is termed ‘triangulation’. Aldridge and Levin (survey proponents) define triangulation as using ‘a variety of methods to test the validity and reliability of our findings’ (2001:14). They conclude that ‘all social research turns out to have quantitative and qualitative elements’ (p.15). Similarly, case study advocates vote for methods triangulation. Stakes (2003) suggests that triangulation looks at the studied phenomenon from different angles, which leads to elucidating meaning and lessening the possibility of misinterpretation (p.148). Moreover, Yin (2003) declares that employing several different sources of data would increase the validity and reliability of case study findings (see also Flick, 1998; Silverman, 1993; Yin, 1993; and Hamel et al., 1993).

In relation to this research, the triangulation endeavour has been established in two ways: within a method and between methods of data collection, which mutually serve the research’s objectives and motives. The researcher would arguably call the first way (triangulation within a method) *internal triangulation*, whereas the second way (between methods) *external triangulation*. The structured interviews schedule implemented in this research includes both quantitative and qualitative questions (internal triangulation). By contrast the research has simultaneously employed both quantitative (structured interviews) and qualitative methods (non-participant observation and semi-structured interviews) of data collection to explore the studied phenomenon, explicitly and from different perspectives.

4.3.5. Procedures of Data Collection

By stating the objectives and motives of the research, the researcher began to sample the subjects, and to identify the methods and instruments of data collection to approach those subjects. The first practical step the researcher took was to obtain a

consent letter from his university in Sebha explaining and authorising the work the researcher was intending to carry out in Sebha. Secondly, the researcher began to contact his nominated subjects personally and, in some cases, via gatekeepers. Beforehand, explanations were given to all subjects about the research and its objective and developments.

Contact started with the six younger son subjects, to seek permission to tape-record naturally occurring conversations between them and their elderly fathers. Four of these cases obtained consent from their fathers to be recorded. The other two cases preferred to carry out the recording covertly. The decision when and where to make the recordings was left to the younger sons who would be deciding on the best time and situation for their fathers to be successfully recorded. Consequently, each recording process took 2-4 days to be satisfactorily accomplished. The researcher checked the quality and content of the recorded data. One subject was asked to record another conversation, as the sound quality was inadequate. The case interactants were then asked to give interviews. An explanation about the research was given to the elderly fathers, whose conversations were recorded covertly. Identifying the place and time for carrying out the interviews was left to the interviewees. Interviews lasted 20-40 minutes. Both younger sons and their elderly fathers were successfully interviewed and tape-recorded.

The group of three elderly peers were approached via gatekeepers. The groups' conversations were covertly tape-recorded by the gatekeepers, who hesitantly accepted to do this job. Establishing satisfactory recordings from these groups took 9-20 days. One of the groups was recorded twice for quality reasons (sounds from cars driving around this group interfered with their voices on the tape).

Institutionally, the three elderly patient subjects were identified and approached via a younger physician friend who cooperatively acted as a gatekeeper. He suggested a suitable time to visit the ward and when subjects would be ready for the recordings and interviews to take place. The suggested time was at 7.00 pm (local time) when visitors are not allowed in, and the patients are relaxed and comfortable. Additionally, the advantage of this time is that it coincides with doctors' rounds. Therefore, the patients (subjects) would not feel anxious with the doctor seeing them out of schedule. Subsequently, the recorded conversation between the patient and his doctor could be recorded more naturally. Permission for recording and interviewing was obtained from the patients' accompanying sons and from the patients as well.

All subjects (in addition to the two accompanying sons) were informed of the research's objectives and aims. The physicians were asked to carry and operate the tape-recorders, whereas the researcher left the scene in order not to distract the subjects' performance. The conversations were for about 10-15 minutes, the same time taken on the doctor's usual round. The elderly patients and the physicians were then asked to give interviews on the same day as the recordings. The elderly patients were quickly (15-20 minutes) and comfortably interviewed in their rooms lying on their beds (for medical reasons). In contrast, the three physicians were interviewed for slightly longer (25-30 minutes) in a quiet room at the hospital. These processes of data collection from these institutional settings took from 6 to 14 days to be satisfactorily accomplished.

Carrying out structured interviews with 16 younger sons and 13 elderly fathers consumed a lot of time. The research objectives were introduced to the subjects. The interviews were carried out in different places and mainly at a time that was convenient for the subjects. The interviews' standardized schedule was recited to the

subjects in their Libyan dialect and accent. Each structured interview took 10-15 minutes with the younger subjects and 15-25 with the elderly ones.

4.4. Data Collection Methods

4.4.1. Introduction

This section discusses in detail practical issues with regard to the methods and instruments of data collection (observation, structured and semi-structured interviews, and audiotape recording) employed in this research. Moreover, it documents tactical and procedural events that the researcher encountered during the process of data collection. The section argues issues on the advantages and disadvantages, validity and reliability of these methods, from the point of view of the literature and this research.

4.4.2. Semi-structured Interviews Method

4.4.2.1. Introduction

Semi-structured interviews method exhibits qualitative and naturalist orientations. Warren (2002) suggests that such qualitative interviews' epistemology is more constructionist because it seeks to 'derive interpretations, not facts or laws, from respondents' (p. 83). In this study, the subjects were separately interviewed after their naturally occurring conversations were recorded. That was to avoid any influence the interviews might have had on the course and naturality of the conversations. The interviews' questions were similar to those administered earlier in the structured interviews, but they were more open-ended and comprehensive, so they can give more opportunity to the interviewees to express themselves in-depth. The interviews were audio tape-recorded and administered in the respondents' native dialect (Libyan

Arabic). The relevant parts of those interviews are extracted and transcribed for analysis (see appendix, pp.225-228).

Elderly interviewees prefer to be addressed in their dialect and accent (Matsuoka, 1993 and Goldstein et al. 1996). Therefore, this researcher prompted with guidance on a number of words, cultural and religious expressions, such as *kheera boukol* 'very well', *bilhoun* 'very bad', *intom alkhayer wa albarakha* 'you are the wealth and blessing'. It is important that elderly respondents are not made to feel illiterate or uneducated by exposing them to academic and scientific terms (e.g. this researcher used the word *hayaa* 'prudery' instead of the term *alomour aljenseya* 'sexual issues', *talfisyoun* instead of *aleethaa almareeya* 'television', *radoo* instead of *methyaa* 'radio', *rifeegtah* instead of *zawjath* 'his wife', and *alhajaa* instead of *zawjatak* 'your wife'. Wenger (2002) proposes that 'it is better for interviewers to be of the same ethnic group as the interviewees' (p.274).

4.4.2.2. Advantages of Semi-structured Interviews Method

The semi-structured interview method provides interviewees with a better chance to express themselves and answer questions in their own words. It is also a flexible method in which research can be looked at from the viewpoints of those under research. Moreover, interviewers are not constrained by an interview schedule; rather they can ask questions in the words and order they prefer (Bryman, 2001). The appropriateness of semi-structured interviews, especially when the interviewees are elderly people who need flexibility and patience to successfully and satisfactorily participate in the research, is obvious. Interviewees can also be interviewed more than once. It can be postulated that semi-structured interviews provide researchers with a rich variety of data (Silverman, 1993). This method can also cooperatively and

complementarily be meshed with other research methods, e.g. non-participant observation. Tape-recorded interviews can provide valuable data for CA methodology and the social constructionist approach. Wetherell et al. (2001) state that 'qualitative interviews can be used for investigating the constitution of language or the discursive construction of the social or the self' (cited in Mason, 2002:63).

4.4.2.3. Disadvantages of Semi-structured Interviews Method

The semi-structured interview is criticised for the influence that interviewers may put on their respondents. It is also criticised for being time-consuming and for requiring great effort, due to the dependence on tape-recording and the need to obtain additional consent from respondents, as well as the amount of time and effort that transcribing the tapes consumes. Interviewers from different backgrounds from those of their interviewees may be led to misinterpret and/ or misunderstand their interviewees. However, an interviewer belonging to the interviewees' background, as Wenger (2002:274) proposes, may also have side effects on the research. For example, an elderly respondent suggested that this research was wasting everyone's time *'you know everything so why don't you save your and my time and go and write it'*. This researcher did have to explain to them about research credibility, reliability and validity. In addition, interviewing respondents known to the interviewer may lead them to avoid raising personal details and feel less confident of their anonymity.

4.4.2.4. Validity and Reliability of Semi-structured Interviews Method

Data acquired by semi-structured interviews can be accurate and reliable because of the researcher's certainty of the source of the data (the interviewees). The communication and interaction features between the researcher and his/her

respondents in semi-structured interviews may decrease the amount of misunderstanding and misinterpretation by the researcher, who can probe for more explanations and verifications from his/her respondents. In contrast, interview findings are criticised for a lack of generalisability, as there are few subjects participating in them. The researcher would argue that the semi-structured interview method does not claim to have the generalisability criterion in its agenda (see, Warner, 2002; and Fielding and Thomas, 2001). Generally speaking, findings emerging from semi-structured interviews can be made more valid and reliable by comparing them with findings revealed by the other methods, e.g. structured interviews, employed in the same research (Kvale, 1996:235).

4.4.3. Audio Recording Method

4.4.3.1. Introduction

It is suggested (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995:78) that the necessity of audiotape recording of qualitative interviews is a 'conventional wisdom' (cited in Warren, 2002:91). Researchers investigating naturally occurring talk, i.e. conversation and discourse analysts, are thoroughly dependent on materials provided by audiotape recordings, as well as videotape when available. In this research, the researcher has adopted this method to record the semi-structured interviews with and naturally occurring conversations between respondents.

Practically speaking, audiotape recording of interviews requires additional consent from respondents, apart from consent to be interviewed. Respondents who agree to be interviewed might possibly refuse to be tape-recorded. Two of this study's elderly interviewees initially objected to being tape-recorded. However, the researcher was able to convince them to give their consent. He told the first one that *'what you are*

going to say is a treasure that should be saved on audiotapes'. The other respondent was persuaded by the idea that tape-recording is the best way to talk comfortably, without being interrupted, slowed down, or asked to repeat. All interviewees were aware of being recorded, so there was no difficulty in positioning the recorders to obtain clear recordings.

It is notable that data collected by tape-recording needs to be transcribed for analysis. Bryman (2001) defines transcription as 'a relatively unproblematic translation of the spoken into the written word' (p.323). Transcribing activity is organised by conventions and strategies (for more discussion, see Poland, 2002; Silverman, 2001; and Bryman, 2001). It is postulated (Ten Have, 1999) that 'the transcription system in CA is specifically designed to reveal the sequential features of talk' (p.78), e.g. turn-taking, pauses, overlapping, etc. Nonetheless, he argues that what transcriptions provide are not the data of CA; 'rather they are translations of the sounds on the tapes' (p.77) (for the benefits of transcription to CA, see Wei, 2002).

4.4.3.2. Advantages of Audio Recording Method

The tape-recording method encourages interviewers to pay more attention and make notes of their interviewees' non-verbal actions (May, 2001). Interviewers will have more eye contacts with and concentration on their interviewees, which may stimulate the interviews. The technique has other advantages when it is implemented on elderly respondents. It helps overcome any potential language disabilities that elderly respondents might have, such as stuttering, hearing difficulty, etc. The researcher would presume that tape-recording of interviews in a language different from that of the research (in our case Arabic/English) is extraordinarily helpful especially in the translation and transcribing stages.

Silverman (2001) states that 'for the later generation of researchers, influenced by constructionism and ethnomethodology, audiotapes of naturally occurring conversation provided marvellous data to analyse how people actually went about constructing a social world together' (p.160). It is also claimed that audiotape recording is a reliable technique that can capture unnoticeable motions (e.g. pauses, inbreaths) as researchers cannot make notes of all that is being said in interactions (Sacks, 1992 and Silverman, 1993). This researcher would recognise that tape-recording has enabled him to quantify how many times interruptions, overlapping, rejections have occurred between the interactants. It has also enabled him to measure the time-span of talking each interactant has had hold of.

4.4.3.3. Disadvantages of Audio Recording Method

Tape-recording can be criticised for the influence it may put on interviewees and interactants, 'who became self-conscious or alarmed at the prospect of their words being preserved' (Bryman, 2001:322). Moreover, interviewees' participation could be hindered by using tape-recorders (May, 2001). Interviewees and interactants often cannot be confident enough of their anonymity as their voices on tapes could be easily recognisable. Tapes can potentially be lost, stolen, and/or copied without permission. Consequently, respondents and interactants may not wish to discuss sensitive (e.g. political topics, in some countries) and private issues in front of tape-recorders.

4.4.3.4. Validity and Reliability of Audio Recording Method

It is suggested that ensuring good quality and clear recordings can increase the validity and reliability of audiotape recording. Researchers should make sure that they position their recorders in a good location. Nonetheless, it is noted that respondents

and interactants' awareness of being tape-recorded may increase their self-consciousness and hence decrease the reliability of their responses. This researcher tried to reduce his respondents' and interactants' negative reaction to tape recorders by encouraging them to be familiar with the presence of such devices. Lengthening the time of recordings and recording more than once are other strategies for reducing artificiality on the part of respondents and interactants. Technically speaking, this researcher supplied both of his tape-recorders with a small long-wired sensitive microphone.

4.4.4. Non-participant Observation Method

4.4.4.1. Introduction

Observation is the beginning of any theory construction process (De Vaus, 1996:13). People in general and researchers specifically observe consciously and unconsciously what is going on around them in social life. Observations conducted in social science are predominantly naturalist oriented methodologies that differ from positivist observations employed in natural sciences (Hammersely and Atkinson, 1995; and May, 2001). It is noteworthy that ethnography is the product of non-participant observation method. Observation of social settings requires a number of strategies and techniques, e.g. gaining access, taking notes, interviewing, etc. (see Silverman, 2000; Bryman, 2001; and Emerson et al., 1995).

From the beginning of this research, behavioral and verbal interactions and communications of elderly people (in Sebha) were consciously observed, especially in settings with their younger sons, peers and healthcare providers. All the settings observed occurred naturally, and were not affected by the researcher being a public servant. Being a local man, the researcher has not faced difficulty in accessing social

settings and ceremonies; he was invited to most of them as a friend or relative. Nonetheless, this researcher encountered some difficulties accessing elderly peer groups and elderly-physician settings. The strategy he has employed to gain access to those settings was to have a gatekeeper to one elderly peer group, who was middle aged. With some other elderly groups, he just sat outside some friends' shops that were very close to where the elderly groups met. The researcher has accessed the elderly-physician settings via physicians known to him.

4.4.4.2. Advantages of Non-participant Observation Method

Mason (2002) recommends the appropriateness of the observational methods for researchers investigating non-verbal elements and verbal interactions, accounts and discourse of their research settings (p.97). Observation is a flexible method that fits the changing character of social life. It also exhibits flexibility in involving other methods of data collection, e.g. note taking, interviewing. Moreover, observation recognises the context of social events. It studies them as they occur naturally. Regardless of ethics, covert observation has advantages: observers may not face difficulties in gaining access to their research settings, and subjects may not adjust their behaviour or discourse because of the researcher's presence (Bryman, 2001:294). In contrast, overt researchers can confidently and simultaneously observe and take notes and implement other methods (interviewing, recording). Unlike participant observers, non-participant observers may have less influence on the course of the settings researched, especially the verbal. Non-participant observers mainly do not belong to their subjects' category (e.g. younger/elderly; linguist/physician) (Lewins, 1992; and Spradley, 1980). Therefore, they would have little or no verbal communication with those subjects.

4.4.4.3. Disadvantages of Non-participant Observation Method

It is argued (Yin, 2003) that observation may lead 'events to proceed differently because it is being observed' (p.86). Moreover, observers can be accused of bias and/or misinterpretation. Misunderstanding and misinterpretation of subjects and settings may more frequently occur with non-participant observers than with participant ones, as the former are more distant from and, mostly, strangers to the subjects and settings. Observations consume a considerable amount of time and require physical effort. Covert observation may raise some practical and ethical indications. Practically, a covert observer may not be able to immediately take notes, or apply other methods like interviewing and/or recording. Covert researchers may constantly be anxious about being uncovered by his/her subjects, which could be extremely dangerous for the researcher. Observers, in general, may find themselves involved in critical situations unrelated to their researching mission. For example, observers might be employed as eyewitnesses, or be physically involved in actions (Norris, 1993).

4.4.4.4. Validity and Reliability of the Non-participant Observation Method

Observation is reliable when settings occur naturally. This researcher would suggest that the reliability of observation can be increased by employing observers belonging to the same background as the setting under study, and speaking the native language, preferably in the subjects' dialect. Such observers may put less influence on the course and discourse of the observed setting and subjects. They can also prevent misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the observed settings and the subjects' behavioural and verbal output. Concerning generalisability, like participant observation, non-participant observation as a qualitative case study, aspires to

investigate and find the general in the particular (see, Hammersley, 1992). Researchers can validate their observation findings by comparing them to the literature.

4.4.5. Structured Interviews Method

4.4.5.1. Introduction

Structured interview method carries a number of different names – formal, survey, standardized interviews – that refer to one epistemologically and methodically similar method. Fink and Kosecoff (1998) describe structured interviews as interview surveys where interviewers guide their respondents through the survey and provide oral and visual explanations to motivate the participants' responses (p.1). The reasons for adopting a structured interview method in this research are to ask standard questions and collect standard answers (Mann, 1985; and May, 2001), and to eliminate the interviewer as the source of measurement error (Groves, 1989:358). Therefore, conductors of structured interviews should follow an interview schedule, word by word, and often attach alternative answers to their interview questions (close-ended questions) from which respondents can choose their answers (Bryman, 2001; Aldridge and Levin, 2001).

4.4.5.2. Designing and Piloting of Structured Interviews

Having justified the implementation of a structured interviews method in this study, the researcher has begun to identify the population that he is going to survey (elderly fathers and younger sons). The sample was judgementally identified and contacted. All subjects were individually interviewed by the researcher at the time and place convenient to them. The subjects were addressed in their dialect.

Structured interview questions can be closed and/or open-ended questions, depending on each type of question's ability to meet the researcher's objectives (Singleton and Straits, 2002). It is postulated that closed questions are more appropriate for obtaining standardized responses and avoiding respondents' misinterpretation of the researcher's questions. Closed questions can also increase the response rates (Fowler, 2002).

In contrast, open-ended questions have the advantage of offering respondents the chance to express themselves in their own words. They are also useful for generating data and exploring new sites that the research might not be aware of. However, open-ended questions are a time-consuming strategy. They cost time and effort for respondent in answering them and the researcher to code and interpret their answers. In generally, structured interviews question (closed and/or open) should be selectively worded. They should be clear, short and easy. They also should be naturally readable by the interviewer as they are worded (for the schedule implemented in the structured interviews of this research, see appendix, pp.229-236).

Structured interviews can be piloted and retested in order to reduce any occurring errors. Moreover, piloting structured interviews may increase the researcher's fluency in reciting and moving through the interview's schedule. The researcher administrated about three structured interviews for piloting purposes. As a result, the research has added and modified a number of questions. For example, when subjects were asked about the topics that they could discuss with their fathers, they added further topics, e.g. listening to music and romantic poems. An elderly subject has mentioned another disgraceful interactional behaviour (raising voice) that should not be performed by younger sons when talking with elderly fathers.

4.4.5.3. Advantages of Structured Interviews Method

The implementation of both kinds of questions (closed and open) in structured interviews methodology offers a mutual obtaining of quantitative and qualitative data (Aldridge and Levin, 2001). Furthermore, the presence of researchers in structured interviews allows them to provide the respondents with assistance and explanation the latter might need to understand the meaning of a question. Interviewers can explain complex questions by giving examples and visual aids to their interviewees. Researchers using structured interviews can argue the quality of their collected data as it has been directly obtained from the respondents without any influence or intervention from others, such as relatives. Fowler (2002) suggests that interviewers can build a relationship with their interviewee that may lead to interviewees trusting them and, consequently, providing them with sensitive information (p.64).

The structured interviews method has proved its appropriateness when researching subjects who speak a language different from that of the research (for this research, Arabic and English). With this researcher's elderly respondents, structured interviews offer him the opportunity to overcome the illiteracy obstacle and any highly potential physical and/or language disability (e.g. short sight, dyslexia) that some of those respondents have. This method also enables the researcher to produce the interview questions in the Libyan dialect of Sebha, which is very understandable for his elderly respondents (see also Matsuoka, 1993; Goldstein et al., 1996; and Wenger, 2002).

4.4.5.4. Disadvantages of Structured Interviews Method

The structured interviews method is criticized as it is determined by the researcher's interests rather than that of the respondents. Furthermore, respondents in structured interviews are performing in an artificial way and not in a natural setting of their

social life (see, Aldridge and Levin, 2001; Fowler, 2002). It is argued that the researcher's presence may predispose answers/responses in structured interviews. Interviewees may give the researcher socially desirable answers, described by Aldridge and Levin as 'social desirability' (2001: 53-4). Interviewers may also be accused of bias and having influence on interviewees, e.g. differences in age, sex, dress, educational level, and/ or economic status. Interviewees cannot guarantee their anonymity, which would decrease their openness and frankness to the interviewer. In addition, highly structured interview conductors who follow the interview schedule very strictly may lessen their chance to establish a rapport with their interviewees.

Practically speaking, structured interviews are criticized as being a time and money consuming strategy. Interviewing, face-to-face, a sample of 16 younger sons and 13 elderly fathers is exhausting and requires a lot of physical effort. Some of the respondents asked him to come at another time, as they were otherwise engaged. To meet them alone and in their free time, most of the researcher's respondents in structured interviews suggested meeting at their houses at midday, when the temperature in May is at its peak (around 43°C) and everybody is seeking shade and cool from air conditioners. The researcher had to agree to their suggested time to avoid losing them, and to guarantee having uninterrupted interviews. Other respondents suggested being interviewed late at night ("cooler and quieter"), when the researcher should have been in bed after an exhausting day.

4.4.5.5. Validity and Reliability of Structured Interviews Method

The validity of this method can be shown in the accuracy of its data. Researchers can be more certain that their data is coming directly from the source (respondents) without any outside influence or intervention. Allowing interviewers to provide

explanations and exemplifications to their interviewees decreases the latter's misinterpretations of the interview's questions and notions (see Schaefer and Maynard, 2002:596). Concerning reliability, it can be argued that the restrictive standardisation of questions, in wording and administration, and the alternative answers may provide more consistency to the data collected and more generalisability to the results. Moreover, the piloting and retestability of this method increases its reliability. Researchers can deflate weaknesses that might be detected in the piloting and retesting process of their structured interviews (see Silverman, 1993:106).

4.5. Difficulties in Approaching the Respondents and Strategies which Led to their resolution

Firstly, conducting a research in a language that is different from the subjects' requires an interpretation and translation work from the researcher at most stages of the research. A considerable effort is required from the researcher in translating the scripts. Accordingly, this researcher decided to structure and script interview schedules in English, but administer them in Arabic. Such a strategy would put the researcher in a neutral position when he delivered his interview schedules in Arabic. Similarly, translating the data from Arabic to English should be accomplished as neutrally as possible. Secondly, approaching elderly father respondents for the structured and semi-structured interviews had to be established individually to avoid any external influences on respondents. Most of the time, it was relatively difficult to find the elderly respondents alone. They live in a remarkably sociable environment. Consequently, this researcher gave them much more flexibility in his timetable. As reported previously, to meet them individually, this researcher had to visit either at midday or later on at night, at the end of an often tiring day.

Moreover, difficulties have been encountered in gaining access in order to record the conversations of elderly peers. The researcher needed time and effort to employ gatekeepers, who still view tape-recording with suspicion (for security reasons). Consequently, the researcher had to look for gatekeepers within elderly settings. Friends of the researcher, who are at the same time relatives of those gatekeepers, helped to persuade them. Reciting the advantages of this research to Libyan society, as it shows its values and customs, eventually persuaded some elderly and younger respondents. Generally speaking, the researcher's sharing of cultural values and social backgrounds enabled him to easily gain trust and assistance from his respondents.

4.6. Ethical Issues

Ethical considerations are of central interest to all social research agents (the researcher, researched and funders). Observation (non-participant and participant) research is the method most accused of violating ethics when it is conducted covertly. It is argued (Bryman, 2001) that covert observation disarms the observer from getting 'informed consent' (p.294). In addition, covert observation and recording of interviews and conversations are considered as an invasion of privacy with the people researched, which can be criminalised by law. The researched might be harmed by violating and then publicising his/her confidentiality. Unconsented observation and/or recording research can also be interpreted as deceiving those researched. Ethical considerations may protect even the research and researcher from latent damage (for more discussion on ethics, see Bryman, 2001; and Bulmer, 1982).

For this research, the researcher has applied the BAAL conventions (see appendix, pp.254-257). This meant that a letter from the University of Newcastle was issued explaining that the researcher belongs to this university, and is required to do a field

study in Libya, as a requirement of his degree (see appendix, p.258). This letter was presented to the University of Sebha, which accordingly issued a letter in Arabic permitting and explaining the theme and procedures of the research. The letter from the University of Sebha achieved its purpose. As the war with Iraq was on at the time when the research data was being collected (in May 2003), this researcher was interrogated by an interior security agent, who had noted the researcher's movements around the city looking for his respondents and interviewing them using his tape recorder overtly. The agent apologised for any inconvenience when he saw the letter from the University of Sebha. The researcher was prepared for such an incident and had obtained more than one copy of the letter. The agent asked for a copy to attach to his report on this case. The University of Sebha also provided the researcher with formal letters directed to the Civic Centre Registrar in Sebha and the Primary Court encouraging them to help with any requirements the researcher might have for his research (see appendix, pp.259-261). These letters successfully enabled the researcher to gain access to some data in those two institutions that relate to his research.

Concerning the respondents, permissions were obtained from them individually. They were told about the subject and procedures of this research. Noticeably, most respondents expressed enthusiasm and willingness to participate in this research. Concerning observation, whenever the researcher noticed any communicational and/or conversational behaviour that he wished to include in his research, he contacted the persons involved and asked for their permission to document and incorporate it in his research.

All elderly and younger respondents in the structured interview were aware of the research, and gave their permission. Similarly, interviewees participating in the semi-structured interviews were told about the research and that their interviews would be

tape-recorded for clarity and academic purposes. Permission for recording conversations was obtained from the participants. In the case of elderly groups' conversations, permission was granted via the gatekeepers who promised to inform their peers of the research. Similarly, in two elderly father/younger son conversations, the sons took full responsibility for seeking permission from their elderly fathers before conducting the recording. The elderly groups' gatekeepers and the two younger sons claimed that it would be easier for them to get permission than it would be for the researcher. The interviews and recordings which took place at the hospital were consented to by all participants and verbally by the administrator of the department where the elderly patient respondents were staying. Finally, the researcher has guaranteed confidentiality and anonymity to his respondents (see Fowler, 2002).

4.7. Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has discussed methodological and practical issues concerning the methods and procedures of data collection employed in this thesis. It has also included a description of the subjects who participated in this research. Moreover, it has included generic methodological issues experienced in other relevant research. This research has harmoniously employed both case study and survey methodologies. Within these methodologies, a number of data collection instruments (structured and semi-structured interviews, audiotape recording, non-participant observation) and procedures have been implemented in this research. The chapter has discussed practical and ethical procedures and difficulties that were conducted and met during the data collection stage.

5. Chapter Five: Methods of Data Analysis

5.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the method of data analysis employed in this research. The researcher has adopted Conversation Analysis (CA) method to analyse the data collected by audiotape recordings of conversations between elderly fathers and their younger sons, elderly peers and between elderly patients and younger physicians. Finally, the social constructionist approach is devoted to supplement CA in the analysis of the data unveiled by the semi-structured interviews, the structured interviews and, when applicable, from the recorded conversations. It should be emphasised that the social constructionist approach is not employed as a method of analysis. Rather, the approach complements CA as it highly recognises the involvement of the subjects' social and cultural contexts into their co-construction of the status of the elderly in their everyday talk-in-interaction settings.

5.2. Conversation Analysis (CA) Methodology

5.2.1. Introduction

Briefly, CA originated in the 1960s by Harvey Sacks (for a detailed introduction on CA, see Seedhouse, 2004). CA is considered to be a qualitative methodology that has a commitment towards naturalism. However, there have been attempts at quantifying CA and directing it towards positivist orientations (Bryman, 2001:355; Ten Have, 1999; Wieder, 1993; Schegloff, 1995; and Heritage, 1995). There is an attempt in this research as well to examine CA's quantifiability.

Silverman (2001) defines CA as 'an empirically oriented research activity, grounded in a basic theory of social action and generating significant implications from an analysis of previously unnoticed interactional forms' (p.169). CA recognises that

social order is constructed through people's talk-in-interaction conversations. Therefore, CA's motive is to portray how people produce social interactions. Bryman (2001) summarises the assumptions adopted by CA as: '(a) talk is structured; (b) talk is forged contextually: action is revealed in talk and as such talk must be analysed in terms of context; and (c) analysis is grounded in data' (p.356) (see also Heritage, 1984; 1987). Furthermore, Sacks et al. (1974) identify the sequencing in conversation as turn-taking and repair, conversational openings and adjacency pairs (question/answer; invitation/acceptance or refusal; greeting/returned greeting), and institutional talk.

5.2.2. Types of Interactional Organisation

5.2.2.1. Turn-taking

It is postulated (Seedhouse, 2004:27) that the system of turn-taking must be extremely robust, since it works with whoever is speaking or however many people are involved and whatever the length or topic of the conversation is. Turn-taking occurrence can be established using different techniques. For example, a current speaker may select the next speaker by asking him/her a question and giving a turn for the answer. Sacks et al. (1974) suggest that turn-taking can be constructed by the speaker's intonation, pitch, volume, and/or tempo, which are called 'Turn Constructional Units (TCU)'. The occurrence of TCU alerts the listener to the fact that the speaker is going to finish and thus he/she should take the turn to talk. It is also recognizable that turn-taking may occur with a slight gap or slight overlap between the speakers.

5.2.2.2. Overlap

Overlap can simply be defined as two or more interactants talking at the same time (see Heritage, 1984; Ten Have, 1999; and Seedhouse, 2004). By and large, overlaps

can be established at the Transitional Relevance Place (TRP) where speaker change may occur. However, slight overlap may often occur as an error of turn-taking exchange, when the listener starts his turn thinking that the current speaker has finished his speech. Seedhouse (2004) suggests that when overlap indicates that the current speaker is in fact continuing, the other speaker follows the norms by ceding the turn (p.38).

5.2.2.3. Interruption

Interruption can be performed in the same style as overlap. However, in interruption the other speaker does not follow the norms and yield so that the current speaker can carry on his talk if he wishes to do so. Rather, the other speaker seizes the initiative and forces the current speaker to cede his turn instead. Therefore, it is postulated that interruption occurs at a different place to TRP (Seedhouse, 2004).

5.2.2.4. Repair Strategies

Repair can be defined as the treatment of trouble occurring in interactive language use. Seedhouse (2004) identifies four types of repairing strategies: (1) self-initiated self-repair where the speaker realises his mistakes and corrects himself; (2) self-initiated other-repair where the speaker realises his mistakes but another corrects him; (3) other-initiated self-repair where the listener alerts the speaker to his mistake, and the speaker corrects himself; and (4) other-initiated other-repair where the listener realises and repairs the speaker's mistake. It is noticeable that the self-initiated self-repair strategy is the one most preferred, whereas other-initiated other-repair is the least used strategy.

5.2.2.5. Adjacency Pairs

This section explores the organisation of adjacency pairs in elderly father/younger son discourse. Seedhouse (2004) postulates that adjacency pairs consist of two parts: (1) the production of the first part, i.e. question, offer; then (2) the second part of the pair, i.e. answer, acceptance, rejection. The two parts in the adjacency pairs are conditionally relevant. Moreover, the second part of the adjacency pair might not come immediately after the first part but come later during the interaction, where the two parts seen as valid and accountable to each other (Seedhouse, 2004:17).

5.2.2.6. Preference Organisation

Interactants normally produce actions they prefer in an unhesitant or quick manner. On the contrary, dispreferred offers and invitations they do not want to take up are usually replied to by responses that are generally accompanied by hesitation and delay and are often produced by markers, e.g. 'well' or 'oh' as well as by positive comments and appreciation (Seedhouse, 2004:26). Interactants producing the latter utterances often moderate their responses by using apologetic and explanatory statements.

5.2.3. Advantages of CA Methodology

CA's interest in how people construct social realities and relationships among themselves in talk-in-interaction provides substantial advantages to the aims and objectives of this research. Applying CA in analyzing the data in this research reveals how those social categories organise and sequence their interactions, taking into account the contexts of the interactions (see Sacks et al., 1974). Bryman (2001:355) states that CA takes talk-in-interaction as the basic form through which social order is

achieved. It is also recognized (Potter, 1996b:133) that CA can be distinguishable as employing 'the participants' understandings to help to build up the analysts' account'. Moreover, CA can be distinctive of the detailed transcripts it requires and utilizes for analysis 'mobilizing information' (Silverman, 2001:180).

5.2.4. Disadvantages of CA Methodology

This researcher would argue that CA does not well satisfy the social and political concerns of this research, as it is not directly engaged with the interactants' cultural and political contexts (see, Silverman, 2001). Moreover, CA analysts are accused of converting CA to 'a mechanical system' (Goffman, 1981:16-17). CA analysts concentrate chiefly on when and how sequencings (turn-taking, interruption, adjacency pairs, etc.) occur in interactions, and avoid deep involvement in answering why those sequencings occurred in such ways. For example, CA would investigate when and how turn taking had been organised between an elderly father and his younger son (the research subjects), whereas it would not be used to enquire why (i.e. because of the interactant's social background, culture, status, etc.) turn-taking had been established in that way (see also, Maynard and Clayman, 1991). Practically speaking, the preparation of CA material (clearly recorded and meticulous transcription of every huff and puff in conversations) requires a considerable amount of time and effort.

5.2.5. Quantification of CA Methodology

Heritage (1995) claims that using statistics in CA can be reasonable in some circumstances. In relation to this research, statistics are important for supporting any claims that could be made to relate any occurrence or reiteration of a particular

interactional performance and feature to social or psychological categories, such as gender, age, status, etc. For example, in this research, the researcher may need to count the time-span elderly father interactants occupy when interacting with their younger sons. Moreover, times of overlapping, interruption, repairing, refusal, agreement, etc., may also need to be measured. That may lead the researcher to refer the consistency of those interactional practices to the age, status, culture, relationship or any other values of his subjects (for more discussion on quantification of CA, see Heritage, 1995; Wieder, 1993; and Schegloff, 1993). Quantification of time-span occupied by the interactants in this research was established by using a timer of a tape recorder available in university's the speech lab.

5.2.6. Validity and Reliability of CA Methodology

It can be postulated that CA is more immune from interference by the inevitable intervention of the researcher in both stages of its research process (data collection and data analysis). The naturally occurring talk data employed in CA are derived from situations which exist entirely independently of the researcher's intervention (Silverman, 2001; and Potter, 1997). Furthermore, CA analysts avoid relying on their own interpretations and understandings of the contexts their interactants' cultures. Rather, most CA analysts follow a more empirical, mechanical and systematic technique in analysing CA data and demonstrating its findings. Nonetheless, a CA researcher's intervention might occur in the transcription process because of mishearing, fatigue, and/or carelessness (see Poland, 1995).

Concerning generalisability, Heritage (1997:166) suggests that collecting more conversations may increase the chance of the study being representative. Moreover, it is proposed (Ten Have, 1999) that CA's main perspective is applying 'general

concepts to analyse particular instances'. However, Schegloff (1992:1338) states that "CA is not after 'laws' or 'empirical generalisation', and neither it is interested in 'relations between variables', 'representative samples' or 'patterns of conditions and consequences', but rather to get a theoretical grasp of interactions' underlying 'rules' and 'principles' (the procedural infrastructure of interactions)" (cited in Ten Have 1999:136).

5.3. Social Constructionist Approach

5.3.1. Introduction

This section explores the social constructionist approach, which is employed as a supplementation to CA in the analysis of the data provided by the semi-structured interviews in this research. The approach's perspectives may be applied to some data from the structured interviews and to some extracts from the recorded conversations. The fundamental idea of constructionism is that human beings are 'agents' and not 'passive organisms or disembodied intellects that process information' (Sarbin and Kitsuse, 1994:2). Therefore, the phenomena of everyday life are socially constructed. Human beings interact and communicate collaboratively to construct, negotiate, reform, fashion and organize their events and relationships (see Jacoby and Ochs, 1995; Schutz, 1967; Berger and Luckman, 1967; and Mannheim, 1936).

Having constructed our social events, how would we as human beings express and demonstrate the construction of those social events and relationships? Garfinkel (1967) suggests that 'shared understandings [e.g. social events and relationships] are developed or negotiated between participants over a period of time, in the course of ongoing conversations' (cited in Shotter, 1993a:11). Moreover, it is postulated that people draw a noticeable linkage between their conversational interactions and the

activities they practice in order to construct social relationships between each other (Mills, 1940). Vygotsky (1986:218) describes the relation between 'thought' [perception] and 'word' [talk] as 'a process, a continual movement backward and forth from thought to word and from word to thought' (cited in Shotter, 1993a:43-4).

5.3.2. Advantages of the Social Constructionist Approach

The social constructionist approach seeks to jointly answer more than one sociological enquiry. For example, if CA investigates how elderly fathers interact with their younger sons, the social constructionist attempts to simultaneously answer how and why conversations between social categories with such social, cultural and religious values are practiced. Bodily (1994:174) states that 'constructionist efforts are compelled, not by rigid methodological strictures, but by the assumption that as active agents we are implicated in the knowledge we produce, the language we use, and the structures and institutions within which we live'. Moreover, social constructionists recognize and allow the fact that social phenomena can be observed and interpreted from different perspectives. Unlike positivism, constructionism does not authorize the notions of uniformity and objectivity of social reality; rather it believes in the changeability, newness and contingency of social reality (Sarbin and Kitsuse, 1994).

5.3.3. Disadvantages of the Social Constructionist Approach

The presence of a constructionist researcher in a research setting (i.e. as a participant or observer) may denaturalise the course of that setting. Moreover, informants can also be influenced in the content and form of their responses by the researcher who might, consciously or unconsciously, direct their responses to his/her interests that

may differ from those of the informants. Therefore, constructionist analysts can be accused of importing their own beliefs, presuppositions and agenda to their constructionist reports (see Sarbin and Kitsuse, 1994:1-15).

Researchers who are foreign to their research environment (in language or culture) would find it more difficult to understand and acquire their informants' language and traditions, which may require the employment of an interpreter who might also be a foreigner. Language and culture barriers may lead foreign researchers to be more vulnerable to the accusation of misunderstanding and misinterpretation of their informants. In contrast, constructionist researchers who belong to the same language and culture of their research setting can be accused of bias and subjectivity (for more arguments on criticisms of social constructionist views, see Sarbin and Kitsuse, 1994; Holstein and Miller, 1993; Bhaskar, 1989; and Shotter, 1993a; b).

5.3.4. Validity and Reliability of the Social Constructionist Approach

Approaching research in a natural setting can provide more reliability to the constructionist research data. In addition, constructionist researchers have more opportunity to communicate and interact with their respondents. Consequently, they can seek explanations from their informants on any misunderstandable and/or blurred points the researchers may come across during their observation period. Constructionist analysts can go back to their respondents, providing that they are still alive, and ask them to verify their findings: what Bryman (2001:273) terms as 'respondent validation'. Constructionist research findings can also be compared with other research findings from the literature to increase their validity, reliability and replicability.

Concerning generalisability, the researcher would borrow Hammersley's statement on the aim of ethnographic research: 'to find the general in the particular' (1992:16), and apply it to the social constructionist research. Taking into consideration the changeability, non-uniformity and novelty of social everyday life, the researcher could presume that social constructionist research is not after establishing a numerical, empirical and/or regional generalisation.

5.4. Complementation of CA Method and the Social Constructionist Approach

Methodologies and approaches in analysing social interactions vary in the accounts and procedures they apply. CA methodology is claimed to be more systematic and less contextualised. Most CA researchers avoid making interpretations, (for example on the social status of the interactants), beyond the systematic analysis of the conversational norms they analyse. For example, CA analysts investigate how turn-taking is organised between interactants regardless of why it is organised in such a way. Nonetheless, a number of CA proponents advocate that CA does include the contexts in which conversations take place and the categorisation of the interactants (social status, age, gender, etc.). On the other hand, the social constructionist approach presupposingly takes into consideration the involvement of the interactants' social, cultural or political values. Proponents of this approach can be accused of being led by the ethnographic and anthropological knowledge they have on their interactants when analysing the latter's conversations.

Accordingly, this researcher has decided to apply CA methodology complemented by the social constructionist approach in the analysis of the study's data. What CA does not cover can be taken on by the social constructionist approach. For example, CA does not concentrate on the context (at least within the analysis); the social

constructionist approach considers thoroughly and completely the context (in all the stages of the analysis). Correspondingly, the social constructionist approach does not apply a systematic technique in dealing with the analysed conversations; CA adopts such a missing systematic technique. More importantly, as the relationship between perception and talk is a two-way relationship (e.g. younger sons talk to their elderly fathers to establish a certain perception, or the way they perceive their elderly fathers dictates the way they talk to them), applying such complementation for analysing the data may explicitly establish this two way relationship.

In this complementary relationship, the social constructionist approach can act as a theoretical framework to CA. Consequently, CA's recognition and consideration of the interactants' social and cultural values can be intensified when it complementarily adopts the social constructionist approach as a theoretical umbrella. That could also lessen the need for this research to employ more analytical methods such as Discourse Analysis DA which may, in some perspectives and functions, interfere or sometimes conflict with CA (see Schiffrin, 1994, chapter 4; Levinson, 1983:287-94).

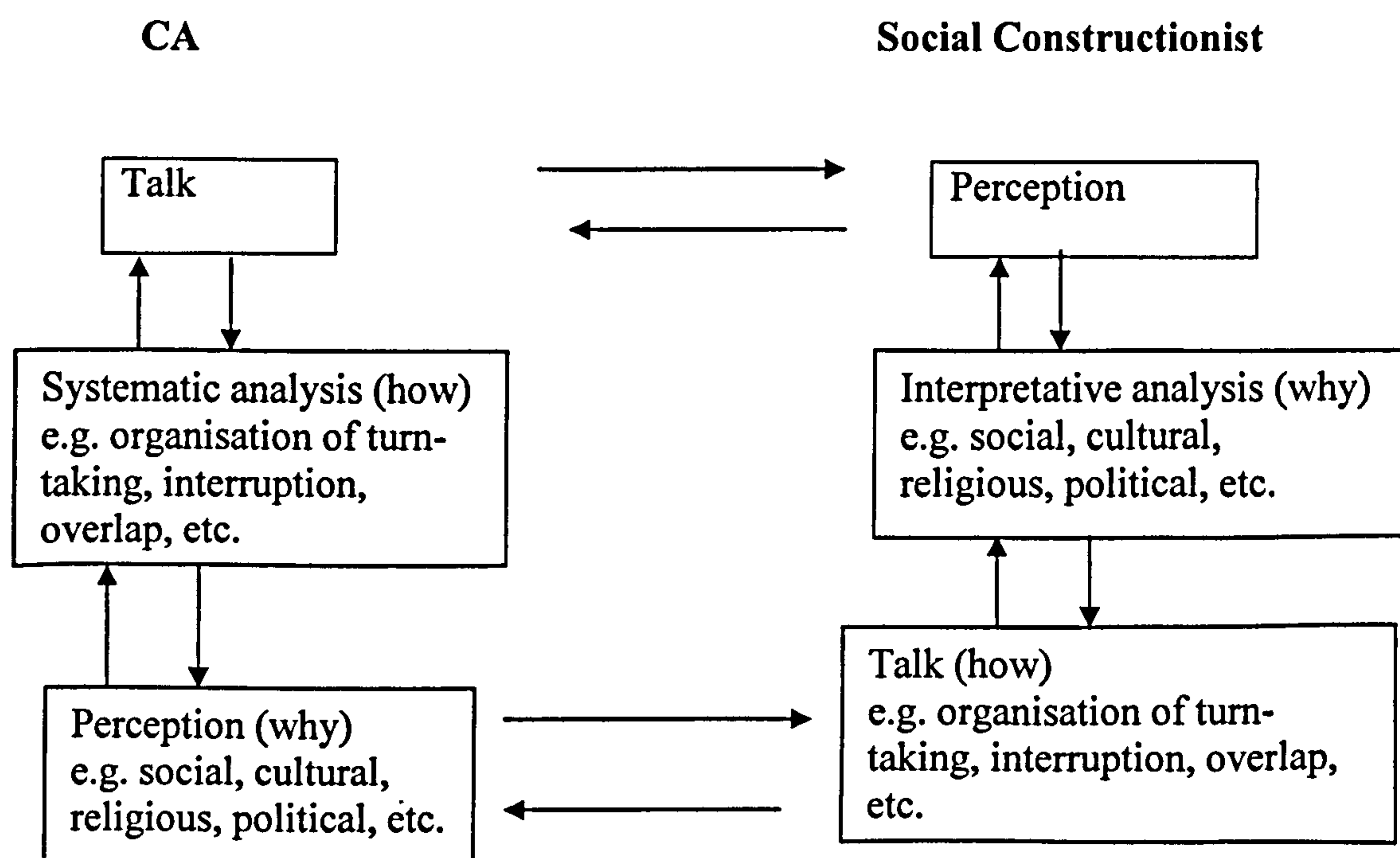


Figure 1: Complementation of CA and the Social Constructionist approach

5.5. Limitations of the Adopted Methodology of Data Analysis

Most limitations realised in CA methodology have been substituted by the complementarily implementation of the social constructionist approach, and vice versa (see the previous section). This researcher would suggest that limitations of the adopted methodology should not be evaluated individually, but rather holistically.

5.6. Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has examined the method of data analysis (CA) employed in this thesis. The chapter has introduced and discussed in detail the advantages, disadvantages, types of organisation and validity and reliability of CA methodology and the social constructionist approach. Complementation and limitations of the thesis data analysis methodology have also been discussed in this chapter.

6. Chapter Six: The Familial and Social Status and Role of the Elderly in Sebha (Libya)

6.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses data analysed from structured interviews applied to a sample of 13 elderly fathers and 16 younger sons. The analysis reveals familial and social issues concerning the status and role of the elderly fathers in Sebha. It also investigates the role and relationships of younger sons in their families in general and with their elderly fathers in particular. The chapter also deals with the linguistic and interactional features that may appear in elderly father/younger son interaction and discourse.

6.2. Family Members' Size, Age and Order

6.2.1. Introduction

This section explores social and domestic issues of Libyan families in Sebha. Family size, order together with roles and power distribution are also investigated. It is worth noting that these familial and social issues are discussed in relation to elderly fathers/younger sons' relationship, interaction and discourse. Questions 1-6 in the elderly fathers' interview schedule and questions 1-5 in the younger sons schedule enquire about details on the distribution of roles among elderly fathers and younger sons in the family and society. In addition, questions 7-9 in the elderly interview schedule and questions 6-9 in the younger sons schedule deal with the distribution of power amongst elderly father and younger sons in the family (see appendix, pp.229-236).

6.2.2. Family Members' Attitudes, Perception and Distribution of Roles

6.2.2.1. Elderly Fathers' Responses

The data provided by the elderly fathers respondents (13) show that the respondents were aged 63-81 and were all married. The subjects' levels of education were secondary school graduate (1), just able to read and write (4), and illiterates (8). Regarding family size, all elderly respondents had more than 5 children (6 subjects have 5-9, and the other 7 subjects have 10-14 children) with an average age of 16. Most of the elderly respondents (8) were pensioners, whereas the other 5 were self-employed (farmers, corner shopkeepers). Furthermore, 11 elderly fathers stated that they are the only family breadwinners. In contrast, 2 elderly respondents acknowledged that 1 or 2 of their younger sons participated as additional family breadwinners. When asked about their role in the family and society, most elderly fathers respondents replied that they do attend tribal and social events (e.g. engagements, weddings, funerals.) as family representatives, and sometimes even as representatives from their tribe or region. Three elderly father respondents revealed that they are not in favour of attending social events; however, if they had to attend, they would represent their families.

6.2.2.2. Younger Sons' Responses

Data revealed by structured interviews of 16 younger sons show that 11 of them were single and 5 married with an average of 1-4 children. The purpose of having a mixed sample contains single (completely/partially dependent) and married respondents (completely/partially independent) is to examine any influence of the sons' marital status on the way they perceive their fathers. Moreover, the researcher can investigate whether those future/younger fathers were in favour of attaining perceptual,

communicational and discursal relationships with their sons in the future similar to their existing relationships with their fathers or not.

It can be seen from the data that 13 of the son respondents have got independent incomes (7 employees; 6 self-employees: shopkeepers, post officers, traders). One respondent was a student, whereas the other 2 respondents were jobless. Unsurprisingly, the 11 bachelor sons were still living in the family home despite their mature age (21-34 years old) and earning sufficient incomes to be independent. In contrast, the 5 married younger respondents live separately from their families in houses and flats. Nonetheless, all younger respondents except 2 considered themselves as additional breadwinners for their families. They help their elderly fathers by paying for some family expense (e.g. vegetables, fruit, basics, medicine). Some younger respondents revealed that they work for some hours, free of charge, in the private family business (shop, call centre, farm). Other sons participate in the family by giving money to their elderly fathers. Younger sons (respondents) attributed such participation to their social tradition and duties towards elderly fathers and families. Furthermore, they recognised that such practices are deeds for the sake of God (Allah) who strongly recommends younger sons to help their parents, especially when they become elderly (see also Abbadi, 1976). Broadly speaking, younger sons have a definite role in their society. For example, they attend social events like weddings and funerals. However, unlike elderly fathers (respondents), younger sons attend such social events as self-representatives only: younger sons do not represent families unless their fathers have commissioned them to do so in their absence.

Respondent Category	Elderly fathers (13)	Younger sons (16)
Age	63-81	21-34
Status	Married	11 single 5 married
Education	8 illiterate;1 secondary school level; 4 just read and write	15 graduates; 1 student
Average number of children	5-14	1-4
Average of children's age	16-35	2
Job	5 self-employed 8 pensioners	7 employee; 6 self-employed; 3 unemployed
Family breadwinner	13 yes	14 Yes 2 No
Attending social events, in which role	Yes, Family and tribe representatives	Yes, Self representatives

Table 6.1: Social Status and Role of Elderly Fathers and Younger Sons in Sebha, Libya

6.2.3. Family Members' Attitudes, Perception and Distribution of Power

6.2.3.1. Elderly Fathers' Responses

Most elderly respondents (8) admitted that they do consult the entire adult family members when making decisions for the family. In comparison, 3 elderly fathers (respondents) stated that they would involve their older sons and/or wives in the

mechanism of making decisions for the family. Interestingly, 2 elderly fathers declared that they are the sole decision makers for the family (Al-Tir, 1992). Moreover, the majority of elderly respondents (11) recognized that they would verbally advise their younger sons if the latter violated family conventions (e.g. travelling without the father's permission, smoking, drinking, and/or hurting a neighbour). If such intervention did not work, they would whip or tongue-lash their defiant sons. Some elderly respondents stated that they usually select the type of reaction in accordance with the age of the misbehaving son. For example, if the son were a child, the father would go for physical or verbal punishment. In contrast, elderly respondents preferred to use verbal advice to their adult sons to correct them. It should be noted that 1 respondent stated he had not had such experiences with his sons, whereas another elderly respondent admitted bitterly that he would ignore his sons' bad behaviour (Peters, 1990).

Finally, all elderly respondents describe a noticeable difference between father/son relationship in the past and in the present. They depict family members' relationships in the past (when they were sons) as stronger and more consistent. There was more respect and bashfulness among fathers and sons. For instance, one respondent reported that sons were not allowed to sit with their father when he had guests. Rather, sons should silently serve their father and his guests. Furthermore, sons were more blindly obedient to their fathers, and unhesitatingly and unquestionably responded to their fathers' requests, which were produced and perceived as orders at that time (see also Al-Zuwyy, 1991). In contrast, elderly respondents condemned the decline in the father/son relationship nowadays. A son's disobedience is seen as a disgrace to his father in particular, and the younger generation to the older in general. Elderly respondents claimed that such deviation in the father/son relationship could be put

down to liberalisation, negligence and divergence from the social, cultural and religious values of the society.

6.2.3.2. Younger Sons' Responses

Almost all younger respondents (14) asserted that they do participate in the decision-making process in their families. It is interesting that one of the younger respondents who considered himself as an extra family breadwinner declared that he is not involved in making decisions for the family. By contrast, two fully dependent (not family breadwinners) younger sons claimed that they participate in making decisions in the family. Moreover, it seems that married and bachelor sons (respondents) have an equal chance to vote for decisions in the family. Elderly fathers seem to still hold power over their younger sons. 13 younger respondents acknowledged that their fathers would advise them if they violated family conventions. Some sons (3) declared that physical and verbal correction are still valid alternatives for their elderly fathers if initial pleas had no response.

Finally, more than 90% of younger respondents expressed their acceptance and satisfaction with such familial and social relationships with their elderly fathers. They attributed their reactions to the positive view of these relationships in their faith and religion. In addition, younger sons (respondents) suggested that such relationships cement the family and strengthen closeness and cooperation between family members, and consequently the whole society. Hence, younger respondents (14) declared their ambition to retain those relationships unchanged with their own sons in the future.

To sum up, elderly fathers and younger sons respondents acknowledged that fathers are the primary decision makers in the family and for all the family members. Younger sons and other family members can be involved in the process of decision-

making if fathers invited them to do so. In dealing with sons who might violate the family's conventions, elderly and younger respondents stated that fathers have the authority to verbally and/or to some extent physically punish those violators. The type of punishment (verbal or physical) is attributed to the scale of the violation and the culprit son's age. Serious violations among children may deserve physical punishment, whereas minor violations by both younger and older perpetrators may be verbally punished.

6.3. Linguistic and Interactional Features of Discourse Involving the Elderly

6.3.1. Introduction

This section examines the linguistic and interactional features that may characterise elderly father/younger son communication and discourse. The elderly father respondents as well as the younger sons were asked what topics could be raised between each other, how they converse with each other, and why they converse in such a way. The researcher's aim is to find out any connections between the data revealed in the previous section (social issues) and the data shown in this section. The question that is being asked is: is there any relationship between how elderly fathers and younger sons perceive each other, distribute roles and power among each other in family in particular and society in general, and the way they communicate and discourse with each other?

6.3.2. Elderly Fathers Conversations with their Younger Sons

6.3.2.1. What About?

It is notable that all elderly respondents show no differences in the way they summon their sons. They usually call for their sons by their names (i.e., **يا علي يا أحمد** oh Ali, oh

Ahmed), and not by gender or other gestures (i.e., oh boy, ya hou, inta yaa). Moreover, elderly father respondents unveiled interesting facts on the types of topics that could/could not be raised between them and their younger sons. The elderly respondents were asked about the raisability of three main types of topics: familial and social; economic and financial; and sexual topics. Data about the first topic (familial and social) show that all elderly respondents could not talk directly with their sons about the latter's desire to get engaged or married. Rather, elderly fathers asserted that such a topic needs to be raised via a mediator and not face-to-face. The mediator could be a family member (e.g. mother) or a relative (e.g. aunt, uncle, and/or an elderly person in the tribe). In contrast, most elderly respondents (9) stated that they do not allow their sons to get involved in discussing a wish to get engaged or married. Nonetheless, 1 elderly respondent revealed that he would have to raise such a topic directly with his sons. The other 3 elderly respondents acknowledged that they have not had such an experience. It is notable that the elderly fathers' responses vary significantly when the engagement or marriage concerns a female family member (daughter/sister). The majority of elderly respondents (10) declared their willingness to discuss it with their son – but in different ways: 3 = via a mediator (mother); 5= could be directly; 2= have to be directly. Nevertheless, the remaining 3 elderly father respondents insisted that they could never discuss such a topic with their sons.

Concerning talking with their sons about problems they (i.e. the elderly fathers) might have with their wives, most elderly respondents (8) stated that they would never raise such a topic with sons, although, 3 respondents stated they would not be averse to a face-to-face discussion on such topic with their sons. Two failed to answer this enquiry. On the contrary, when the troubles were between sons and daughter-in-law, a

number of the elderly respondents (5) stated they never had such experience, as their sons were still bachelors. The other responses (8) can be divided into two halves. 4 elderly respondents revealed that they could raise such an issue with their sons. That could be directly (2 respondents) or has to be directly (2 respondents). The other 4 elderly respondents admitted that they never dared to broach such a topic with their sons. In addition, more than half of the elderly respondents (7) revealed that they could talk directly and discuss with their sons about whether or not to attend a certain social event. Two elderly respondents made a point of saying that such a matter would definitely need to be discussed directly with their sons.

The second major topic the elderly respondents were asked about possibly raising with younger sons concerned money. It can be seen that most responses on this topic were either to the far left (have to be raised directly) or to the far right (could not be raised at all). It is also interesting to note that there is no involvement whatsoever of a mediator in this topic. Six of the 13 elderly respondents were adamant they never talk to their sons about their (elderly fathers') debts. On the other hand, 4 revealed that they would to have talk to their sons directly about being in debt. That is all about life and death matters, some elderly respondents explained. Two of the fathers agreed that such a topic could be raised directly with sons. This enquiry was inapplicable to 1 elderly respondent. On the subject of lending money, the majority of the elderly fathers (11) declared that they never encourage their sons to discuss such a topic with them. Nonetheless, the 2 remaining elderly fathers acknowledged that they do have to directly talk to their sons about them lending money to others. For consultation with sons when making large purchases (e.g. buying a car, farm, house), the elderly respondents varied in choosing from the alternative responses. 6 elderly respondents had to directly talk to their sons about this issue, and other 4 respondents went for a

closer choice: 'could be directly discussed'. In contrast, 2 elderly respondents preferred not to discuss this issue with their sons, while 1 gave no response.

Similarly with substantial selling transactions (e.g. selling a car, farm, house), nearly half of the elderly respondents (6) agreed this issue has to be directly discussed with younger sons. The other 7 responses seem to be fragmented among different alternatives: 3 = could not be discussed at all; 2 = could be directly discussed; and 2 = no response. Concerning other financial and economic activities (such as starting (a) new business/job or (b) stopping an existing business/job), most of the elderly respondents (a=8; b=9) insisted that they have to raise these issues with their sons beforehand. Only 1 elderly respondent in each enquiry (a and b) stated he would never raise such an issue with his younger sons. Apart from 1 non-response for enquiry a, and 2 for enquiry b, the remaining responses went for 'could be directly discussed' choice (a=3; b=1).

The elderly father respondents were asked about the possibility of raising romantic and sexual topics when conversing with younger sons. The responses show, in general, that elderly fathers do not dare at all to discuss or raise such topics with their sons. 100% of the elderly respondents (13) acknowledged that they could never talk with their sons about girlfriends or affairs any of them might have. Moreover, 11 elderly respondents revealed that they could never discuss physical and/or psychological sexual problems in the family with their younger sons. Exceptionally, 2 elderly respondents expressed their readiness to raise such a subject with their younger son – but via a mediator and not face-to-face. A similar number of elderly respondents (11) claimed that they could never converse about fertility problems they might have with their sons, yet the other 2 elderly respondents stated they could discuss this with their sons, but that should be via a mediator, chiefly the mother. By contrast, when the

fertility problems were the sons', 6 elderly fathers claimed that they could raise such topic with their younger sons, but such discussion should take place via a mediator and not in person. Furthermore, elderly respondents proclaimed that they could never get into a discussion about contraceptives with their younger sons. Only 2 elderly respondents claimed that they could raise such issue with their sons, still via a mediator. 1 non-response was recorded in this enquiry. Finally, all elderly respondents declared that they would not dare to listen to or watch music, songs, romantic drama and poetry in the presence of their younger sons. They would rather listen to Koranic recitation and sermons, and watch the news with their younger sons.

6.3.3. Younger Sons Conversations with their Elderly Fathers

6.3.3.1. What About?

Younger sons were also interviewed on the way they exchange everyday talk-in-interaction with their elderly fathers. More than 50% of the younger respondents (10) said that they use the word *bati* (father) to summon their fathers. The other 4 sons recognised that they adopt the word *seedi* (sir/lord), whereas 2 younger respondents prefer to call for their elderly fathers as *hajj* (pilgrim). It is worth noting that the words *seedi* and *bati* have nothing to do with the degree of respect towards their fathers; rather they exhibit demographical differences. Some Bedouin tribes in Sebha use the word *seedi*, whereas other tribes use the word *bati* to address fathers. Semantically speaking, *bati* is the origin word that refers to fatherhood. It comes from the classical Arabic word *ab*, and it is pronounced in different ways (*baba*; *bouyee*; *babayee*; *obaa*). On the other hand, the word *seedi* means 'sir' or 'lord', and can be addressed to uncles and elderly men in the family or tribe. *Hajj* does not carry any

additional respectfulness to fatherhood, as it can be addressed to any person who has been to Mecca for pilgrimage.

More than two thirds of the younger sons (12 respondents) acknowledged that they could not declare their wish to get engaged or married to their elderly fathers. Rather, they could raise such a topic with their fathers via a mediator (mostly the mother). In cases where the fathers wished to get another wife, 8 younger respondents still declared their incapability to talk to their fathers about this issue. Nonetheless, 7 sons (respondents) insisted that they could talk directly to their father about his desire to marry again. A correlation can be identified between those 7 sons' ability to raise such a topic directly with fathers and those sons' marital status: it was noticed that 5 of those 7 sons are married. Yet, when it is the daughter of the family who is engaged or married, more than two thirds of the younger respondents stated that they would never get involved in any direct conversation with their fathers about that. Other sons preferred to raise such a topic via a mediator.

It is worth noting that enquiry 2/a/4 in the linguistic and interactional questions part of the younger sons interview schedule (troubles with the wife) was inapplicable to the 11 unmarried younger respondents. In contrast, the 5 married sons replied differently. 2 of them insisted that they could never discuss this with their fathers, whereas, other 2 younger respondents claimed that they could do so. A mediator was again called for by the remaining married younger respondents. A similar correlation could be found between the married sons and the raisability of father/mother troubles issue with fathers. 5 of the 7 younger respondents who declared their capability to talk face-to-face with their fathers about this issue were married sons, whereas single sons (9 respondents) could never. Concerning their attendance at social events, the majority of younger sons (11) could talk to their fathers about it. Two younger respondents

insisted that they have to directly talk to fathers about attending social event, for arrangement purposes, and/or getting permission sometimes (Al-Zuwyy, 1991). But 3 respondents recognised that they could not talk about this with their fathers, whereas 1 respondent preferred to involve his mother in the discussion. It can be presumed that the last respondent's strategy (via a mediator) can be applied in his context for getting permission from the father, especially if the event is not regional, and necessitates some distance travelling (Abbadi, 1976).

It is of note that when asked about son/father possibility of raising economic and financial topics, the younger sons' answers were fairly equally distributed between two extremely contradicting alternatives: could not be raised at all and have to be directly raised. 7 younger sons stated that they would never talk to their father about any debts he might have. Yet, 6 respondents were adamant that they had to discuss it with their fathers. Similarly with topics like big purchasing/selling transactions, 6 younger respondents were unable to discuss it whereas 7 insisted that it needed discussion. These queries were inapplicable to the other younger respondents (3). Similar figures were found when the topic was about starting/finishing a business/job. It is also quite noteworthy that younger sons (respondents) were not in favour of involving a mediator when talking about economic and financial issues with their fathers.

It is interesting to find out that the majority, if not all, of the younger sons (respondents) acknowledged that they were unable to raise sexual and romantic topics with their elderly fathers, either directly or indirectly. All younger respondents (16) declared that they could never talk to their fathers about their girlfriends, or any physiological or psychological sexual problems they (sons) might have. Younger sons (14 respondents) seemed unable to talk to their fathers about contraception issues.

This query was inapplicable to the rest of the younger respondents. For more than 90% of younger respondents, fathers' fertility problems were not discussable topics. Yet, if the younger sons (respondents) had fertility problems, a number of them (6) recognised that they could not talk with their elderly fathers about such problems. However, 3 sons preferred to raise their fertility issue to their fathers via a mediator. Only 1 younger respondent felt that he could directly discuss this with his father. This question was inapplicable to the other younger son respondents (6). In addition, 100% of younger respondents announced that they would never dare to listen to or watch music, romantic songs, poems and serials with their elderly fathers.

Respondents Topics	Elderly fathers' ability to discuss with younger sons	Younger sons' ability to discuss with elderly fathers
Sons' desire to get married or engaged	Via a mediator	Via a mediator (mother)
Fathers' desire to get married	Could not be raised at all	Could not be raised at all
Troubles with wife	Could not be raised at all	Via a mediator
Having debts	Could be directly	Has to be raised directly
Lending	Could be indirectly	Has to be raised directly
Purchasing/ selling (car, house, farm)	Could be directly	Has to be raised directly
Starting/ stopping a new business/ job	Has to be raised directly	Has to be raised directly
Girlfriends and romantic issues	Could not be raised at all	Could not be raised at all
Physical/ psychological sexual problems	Could not be raised at all	Could not be raised at all
Sons fertility problems	Via a mediator (mother)	Could not be raised at all
Fathers fertility problems	Could not be raised at all	Could not be raised at all
Contraception	Could not be raised at all	Could not be raised at all
Listening to/ watching music, poems, songs, movies	Could not be raised at all	Could not be raised at all

Table 6.2: Summary of the Topics that Could/Could not be raised between Elderly Fathers and their Younger Sons

6.3.4. How do Elderly Fathers Talk to their Younger Sons?

Elderly respondents were asked about interactional performances when interacting with their younger sons (questions 3-13 in the elderly schedule, linguistic and interactional questions part, see appendix, pp.230-1). Nearly half of the elderly respondents (6) revealed that they present their requests to their younger sons in 'order' formats (e.g. drink that apple juice; don't touch this metal surface). Other elderly respondents (4) asserted that they usually prefer to explain their requests then order them (e.g. apple juice is good for you, drink it; this metal surface is very hot, don't touch it). In contrast, 2 elderly fathers claimed that they firstly place their orders then explain them (e.g. drink apple juice, it is good for you; don't touch this metal surface, it is very hot). Only one respondent stated that he usually presents his requests in a different manner: explain then ask (e.g. apple juice is good for you, *would* you drink it? This metal surface is very hot, *could* you not touch it?). This style is, by and large, not used by elderly fathers with younger sons.

For how elderly fathers reject their younger sons' requests and ideas, 6 elderly respondent reject in a strong and direct way (i.e. by using the word *laa* (no); or the phrase *maa yseer minhaa* (it can't be). Others preferred a softer indirect style (i.e. using phrases like: *Allah ghalib* (God is the ruler); *maa tasleh beenaa* (that doesn't suit us) *kan tashbah rayee ma yeser minhs* (if you're asking me, no). Moreover, a considerable number of elderly respondents (10) stated that they prefer to give a strong and direct response to their sons. For example, 6 elderly fathers prefer to use the word *bahi* (fine). A stronger and clearer agreement word *haadir* (ok) was also be selected by 2 elderly fathers to show their concurrence. In addition, elderly fathers (respondents) may agree in different styles. For instance, 2 elderly respondents reported that they agree cautiously (e.g. *waallahi feeha kheerha* (by Allah, it could be

right), *ingoul bahi* (I would say, fine), whereas another elderly respondent said he usually agrees unenthusiastically and without taking any responsibility (e.g. *wallahi deer rayak* (by Allah, do what you want); *deer alee tshoufa* (if you see it like that, do it)). Most elderly respondents seemed to borrow religious phrases to exhibit their agreements. For example, they use phrases asking Allah's (God) blessing: *ieewajhak Allah khayer* (may Allah guide you on the right path); *in shaa Allah rabi eenaak* (may Allah give you a hand); *in shaa Allah rabi eikaml* (may Allah accomplish what you doing).

More than 50% of elderly respondents (7) found it 'very acceptable' to interrupt their sons' speech using phrases like *mosh heki* (it is not like that); *raji raji shouf* (wait wait, see). 2 of the elderly fathers differed slightly as they found it just acceptable to practice interruption with their sons, whereas 4 of them went further to describe the action (interruption) as an embarrassing habit. Very interestingly, the majority of the elderly fathers (12 respondents) use a similar strategy when they ask their younger sons to bring them something, e.g. a glass of water. They usually order their sons rather than requesting or asking them. 1 elderly respondent preferred to ask rather than order his son to bring him a glass of water. Elderly fathers have different interpretations to the ways they introduce their request to their younger sons:

Order: *jeeb immayah* 'bring water'

Request: *tra jeeb immayah* 'can you bring water?'

Asking: *tra billaahi jeeb immayah* 'can you please bring water?'

Begging: *tra tarbah billaahi jeeb immayah* 'could you please bring water?'

It is also interesting that most elderly fathers (10) revealed that interactions between them and their sons should be ended by the fathers most of the time using the word *kalaas* 'alright' – as an endorsement – or *kalaasou* 'alright?' – as a way of probing.

However, 3 elderly respondents expressed no concern about who should end the talk; either them or their sons.

Most elderly respondents declared that telling axioms and experiences is the main content of their conversations with younger sons. Some literate elderly respondents proclaimed that they include religious verses and sayings when talking to their younger sons. In addition, a number of elderly respondents (7) asserted that they usually use pejorative language (e.g. *ya klayb* (oh doggie); *ya shayn* (oh ugly one); *ya bukshaym* (oh with such an ugly tiny nose); *ya zalafout* (oh, trouble maker); *ya balouot* (oh, liar); *ya hmar* (oh you donkey)). Elderly respondents stated they use such pejorative language when talking to their toddler children, nephews, and other relatives. Pejorative language can also be directed to friends of the same age (elderly). Elderly respondents presumed that they use such pejorative language to express humour, love and admiration for their addressees. It is noticeable that elderly fathers (respondents) do not address their younger sons with pejorative language. They attributed that to the increasingly serious nature of the relationship between them and their younger sons. Moreover, younger sons' growing up might not perceive such pejorative language as a sense of humour or love, rather, they might interpret it as an insult (see also Li Wei and Li, 1996).

6.3.5. How do Younger Sons Talk to their Elderly Fathers?

The structured interviews with younger sons revealed that the majority of respondents (12) present their requests to their fathers in 'explain then ask' style (e.g. my friends have invited me to a trip, could I join them?). In addition, 13 younger respondents stated that they never verbally reject what their fathers may ask, say or offer. Nevertheless, very few respondents (2 sons) recognised that they 'sometimes'

disagree with their fathers' statements. Yet, 13 younger respondents denounced verbal rejections by sons to fathers' offers and speech, describing that as very unacceptable behaviour. Interestingly, 3 younger respondents, including those 2 who declared that they sometimes verbally reject their fathers' utterances, criticised the performance as 'unacceptable'. Younger sons (respondents) may use softer and indirect strategies to disagree with their fathers. For instance, they reported that they might use phrases like *iyseer khayr* (the right thing will be done); *bahi insaha* Allah (ok, if God wills); *tawa inhawl bahi* (fine, I'll try); *yister Allah* (may Allah make it happen).

Furthermore, more than two thirds of the younger respondents (13) stated that they 'always' agree verbally with what their fathers may ask, offer or say, though 2 sons admitted that only sometimes, not always, do they produce verbal agreements to their fathers' statements. Many younger sons (8 respondents) depicted the 'always' producing of agreement to their fathers as 'very acceptable'. The 5 other younger respondents described it only as an 'acceptable' habit. In contrast, 2 sons realised that always agreeing with fathers is unacceptable.

Younger son respondents adopt a number of techniques to express their agreements when conversing with their fathers. Fourteen of them express their agreement in a strong and direct (enthusiastic) way (e.g. *haader baahi* (alright, ok); *ikwaees boukl* (very nice)). Two sons preferred to utter their agreement in a cautious manner (*mashi alhaal* (it could be ok); *shouf rayak* (do what you want); *ingoul ikwaees* (I think it is fine)). Similarly with interrupting conversations with elderly fathers, a significant number of younger respondents (13) reported that they never attempt to interrupt their elderly fathers. They judged such interactional behaviour as 'unacceptable'. Yet, 2 younger respondents revealed that they sometimes interrupt their fathers' speech, although both denounced their action and described it as 'unacceptable'. When

interruption or correction was inevitable in father/son discourse, younger sons suggested the use of indirect and polite phrases to do so (e.g. *rahi moush hiki ya baati* (oh father, I think it is not like that); *iee sah lakn indoun inha moush hiki* (yes, that's right, but I think it is not like that); *iee sah lakn balk heya moush hiki* (yes that's right; but, don't you think that it is not like that). All younger respondents but one criticised younger sons interrupting their elderly fathers. Moreover, nearly half of younger respondents (8) revealed that when they interact with their elderly fathers, it is always their fathers who end the talk. In contrast, 5 sons recognised that either they or their fathers could end the conversation. However, younger respondents noticed that if they ended the talk, they would do that in responding phrases (e.g. *bahi khalas* (ok fine); *in shaa Allah hader* (God's willing, alright). On the other and, if elderly fathers bring the conversation to a close, it usually would seek obedience (e.g. *bahi khalasou* (ok, is that alright?); *baheeu* (ok?)), or endorsing phrases (e.g. *twakl alaa Allah* (it depends on Allah); *bahi khalas* (ok, fine).

<div>Respondent Account</div>	Elderly fathers to younger son	Younger sons to elderly fathers
Presenting a request	Order	Explain then ask
Verbal rejection	Strong and direct	Could not be produced
Phrases for rejecting	لا [laa] (NO)	باهي يسهل الله [bahi yester Allah] (fine, may God facilitate)
Verbal agreement	خلاص [khlaas] (alright)	حاضر باهي [haadir bahi] (ok, fine)
Interruption	Very acceptable, لا مش هكي [la la mosh hiki] (no, no, not like this)	Could not be produced

Table 6.3: Summary of the Interactional Accounts in Elderly Father/Younger Son everyday Conversations

6.3.6. Why do Elderly Fathers talk to their Younger Sons like that?

The elderly fathers (respondents) were asked: how would they, in particular, and their society, in general, judge younger sons who perform certain interactional behaviours, (e.g. interrupting, overlapping, verbally rejecting and/or agreeing, discussing sexual topics directly with their fathers, listening more than talking to their fathers, talking more than listening to their fathers, raising their voices over their fathers'), when interacting and conversing with their elderly fathers? (See table 6.4 below). All elderly respondents (13) described sons who adopt conversational habits like those listed above as 'very bad sons'. Some mentioned they were impolite, disobedient and unrighteous; one even described such sons as accursed and illegitimate. In general, Bedouin, Muslim, Arab society would treat sons behaving thus as outcasts. In contrast, sons who verbally accept their fathers' orders and offers were depicted by the 13 elderly respondents as 'very good' sons. They carried on commenting: those sons should be righteous, obedient, very polite, lawful, praised by parents, and blessed by Allah.

More than 90% of the elderly respondents stated that they can see a great difference between the past and the present in the way elderly fathers/younger sons converse. They noted that sons in the past would not sit with elderly men in general. Also they would not talk in the presence of elderly fathers. Usually elderly men in this society would not hesitate to give advice and tell off youngsters in the street, whether they knew them or not, if they felt it was deserved. Correspondingly, those youngsters would not answer back – they would have to remain silent, apologise or leave the scene. Elderly respondents claimed that sons in the past were expected to acquiesce with their fathers, using the word *naam* (yes) or *hadder* (ok). Sons could not ever argue or negotiate with fathers. Instead, sons would hesitantly give their opinions (when countering to that of their fathers) and complain through their mothers. Those

traditions are declining nowadays, although some elderly respondents claimed they still survived in some cases.

At the end of the interviews, the elderly respondents pointed to a number of factors dictating how elderly fathers and younger sons interact. All 13 of them insisted that religion, traditions and culture play a major role in organising and directing the stream of father/son interaction and discourse. They suggested that those factors were inherited and transferred from generation to generation through education, circulation of axioms and experiences, recitation of the Koran and the Prophet's sayings (hadith) and legislation (see Abbadi, 1976). Bedouin people (grandfathers, fathers and sons) can and do preserve and sustain their traditions and culture, of which they feel proud (see Peters, 1990). The elderly respondents felt factors like the interlocutors' (father/son) level of literacy, health, and/or wealth had no influence on the way they interact and communicate with each other. They presume that the image of elderly fathers is psychologically, physically and sociologically constructed in Bedouin, Arab, Muslim society as bosses, leaders, root stock and family gods (see Nyrop et al., 1973; and Abbadi, 1976).

6.3.7. Why do Younger Sons talk to their Elderly Fathers like that?

Noticeably, almost all younger respondents condemned and criticised their counterparts who used interruptions, overlapping and verbal rejections when conversing with their fathers. Like the fathers before them, such interactants were also described as 'very bad sons'. More than two thirds of younger sons (12 respondents) praised 'very good' sons who always accepted what their fathers might ask, offer and/or say to them. In addition, sons who directly raised sexual topics with their fathers were also portrayed by 12 younger respondents as 'very bad sons'. Yet, 4 of

them felt there was nothing wrong in this, suggesting that such a father/son relationship should be frank and friendly. Most son respondents judge sons who listen more than talk to their fathers as ‘very good’. 3 younger respondents professed themselves neutral: such sons were neither good nor bad. On the other hand, sons who talk more than listen when talking with their fathers were depicted by younger sons as ‘very bad (7 respondents) and ‘bad’ (5 respondents). 2 respondents voted for actually ‘neither good nor bad’ alternative, whereas, 2 non-responses were registered. Finally, 100% of younger respondents announced that sons who raise their voices over their fathers’ when talking to them were ‘very bad’ sons: they even described them unlawful, sinners, and astray.

Respondent Account	Elderly fathers	Younger sons	Comments
Interruption	Very bad	Very bad	Disobedient
Overlapping	Very bad	Very bad	Impolite
Verbal rejection	Very bad	Very bad	Unlawful son
Verbal agreement	Very good	Very good	Blessed by God
Raising sexual topics	Very bad	Bad	Impolite
Listening more than talking	Very good	Very good	Praised by parents
Talking more than listening	Very bad	Bad	Impolite
Raising their voices	Very bad	Very bad	Astray and sinner

Table 6.4: Summary of Elderly Fathers’ and Younger Sons’ Judgments on Hypothetical Situations of Sons who Produce some Interactional Behaviours when Interacting with their Elderly Fathers

A number of younger son respondents (12) professed themselves happy and comfortable with their communicational and conversational relationships with their elderly fathers. They attributed such feelings to the nature of respect and politeness towards elderly fathers. Some respondents stated that they accept this kind of relationship with their elderly father to satisfy and fulfil their religious and social obligations. Younger respondents insisted that these relationships fuel and sustain the familial and social links between family members. Younger sons do not hide their intention to retain a similar relationship with their sons in the future. However, one younger respondent did feel that these father/son relationships are slightly exaggerated, and he did not wish to maintain them with his sons in the future, while another revealed that he follows on with this relationship just so as not to anger his elderly father. Therefore, he would keep parts of this relationship and modify others. Finally, younger sons declared that factors like religion, traditions, culture and legislation may be behind the existence and sustainability of those familial and social father/son relationships. Moreover, those factors may direct and organise the course of father/son interaction and discourse (see Al-Zuwyy, 1991; Al-Tir, 1992; and Abbadi, 1976). They also felt that there was no significant influence of factors such as the father/son's level of education, health, and/or wealth on how they perceive each other and discourse with each other.

6.4. Summary and Conclusion of the Chapter

This chapter has investigated the familial and social features of elderly father/younger son relationships in Sebha, Libya. Respondents (13 elderly fathers aged 63-81 and 16 younger sons aged 21-34) were approached via structured interviews. Elderly and younger respondents have different marital and educational backgrounds (see table

6.1 above). Respondents belong to large families (5-14 members). The great majority of the respondents participate economically in their families. Socially, elderly respondents claimed the role of family and tribal representative in attending familial and tribal ceremonies, whereas younger sons acknowledged that their social role does not exceed self-representation. Elderly and younger respondents asserted that it is the fathers who have the prime authority to make decisions in the family and for all the family members. Moreover, it is their choice to involve any family members in the process of decision-making. Fathers have the authority to verbally and physically punish younger sons who violate family conventions. It can be concluded that families in Libyan society can still be considered large in size. Such size can provide elderly fathers with better communicational and interactional opportunities than those who live in small families. Moreover, elderly fathers had both a familial and economical role and power over their family members (i.e. breadwinners, house owners, family business sponsors, etc.). The fathers' familial role can be seen in the procedures in which familial decisions are being made (primarily by the fathers) and in the fathers' ability to carry out verbal and physical punishments on their disobedient sons. The elderly fathers' role and power are extended beyond the family to the rest of society. They act as family and tribal representatives, attending familial and tribal ceremonies and deciding on compromises. In contrast, younger sons' familial and social role is limited by the wishes of their elderly fathers. Younger sons (respondents) declared their attribution and allegiance to their elderly fathers as they accept their decisions and punishments. They revealed their wish to retain similar social and familial relationships with their sons in the future.

The linguistic and interactional responses show that elderly fathers summon their younger sons by their names, whereas younger sons should summon their fathers

using their familial label (*bati* father). Moreover, the responses revealed that elderly fathers and younger sons could never raise sexual and romantic topics with each other. Issues regarding getting married or engaged and familial circumstances, e.g. trouble with the wife, should be raised to the elderly father via a mediator (mother). Economical and financial issues concerning the elderly fathers are classified able to be raised and/or have to be raised, whereas those which concern the younger sons are under 'have to be raised' in the father classification. The involvement of the mother as a mediator cannot be identified in the raisability of economical and financial issues (see table 6.2 above).

The analysis shows that elderly fathers do assert their social status and familial power when interacting with their younger sons. They present their request to their younger sons using the imperative, produce their rejections strongly and directly, giving agreement in the 'endorsement' style, and acceptably interrupt and overlap during their younger sons' speech. By contrast, the younger sons (respondents) employ styles that exhibit their obedience and loyalty to their elderly fathers. They present their requests in the 'explain then ask' style, cannot produce rejections, giving agreement in the 'acceptance' style, and cannot interrupt or overlap when interacting with their elderly fathers (see table 6.3 above). Respondents attributed the co-construction of such elderly father/younger son familial, social, linguistic and interactional relationships to their society's social, cultural, religious and political values. Sons who violate those values and interact differently with their elderly fathers, e.g. produce verbal rejections, overlap, raise sexual and romantic issues, are negatively stereotyped and find themselves out on a limb in their society (see table 6.4 above). Materialistic factors such as health, wealth and the educational background of the interactants seem to have no significant influence on the social construction of the elderly in Libya.

7. Chapter Seven: Organisation and Sequencing of Elderly Conversational Interaction

7.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the organization and sequencing of the elderly conversational interaction with younger sons, peers and healthcare providers. The analysed data is from audiotape recordings of naturally-occurring conversations between the subjects. The analyses cover 6 recorded elderly father/younger son conversations, 3 elderly/elderly conversations, and 3 elderly/doctor interactions. CA method is employed for examining conversational accounts and strategies, i.e. turn-taking, interruption, repairing, etc., that may characterize the elderly interaction and discourse.

7.2. Elderly Fathers Interacting with Younger Sons

7.2.1. Introduction

This section explores the conversational mechanisms that may characterise elderly father/younger son discourse. CA accounts are identified and classified in detail. The researcher may need to quantify the occurrences of some interactional strategies. It is noteworthy that the analyst takes into consideration the contexts in which those naturally-occurring conversations took place.

7.2.2. Turn-taking

Analysis of elderly father/younger son naturally-occurring discourse shows that elderly fathers chiefly acquire their turns either by slight overlapping or interrupting their sons' talk. As mentioned previously (see Chapter 6 in this volume), elderly fathers find it acceptable to perform interruption and overlap when interacting with their younger sons. Extract A1, A2 below show turn-taking acquisition by an elderly

father interacting with his younger son. This conversation is between an elderly father talking to his son about his trip to a herbal therapist (May, 2003) (the transcription conventions are borrowed from Seedhouse, 2004, see appendix, p.207-8).

(Extract A1)

Son: **حمو غادي زي سبها ولاأ::**

[]

→ Father: لا كويس، برودة والله

(Translation of extract A1)

Son: Is it hot there like in Sebha, or::?

[]

→ Father: No, it is nice, by Allah

In extract A1 above, the father did not wait for his son to finish his question. Rather, he prematurely answered his son's question by establishing an interruption. However, it can be suggested that the father might perceive two reasonable interactional indications for him to perform his turn. Firstly, it seems that he understood his son's question before he had finished it. Secondly, the son's lengthening of his comparison article (ولا::) 'or::' may well encourage the father to speed up his answer. A similar strategy of turn-taking acquisition by interruption can be found in extract A2 below.

(Extract A2)

Son: زحمة عليه؟

Does he [the therapist] have lots of clients? =

Father: زحمة

=crowded

Son: **عرب واجدة**

Lots of people?

Father: واجدة بكل

Too many

Son:

من سبها ولا غير م//ن

From Sebha or just fro//m

→ Father: //من سبها، من طرابلس، من بنغازي، من مصراتة.....

// From Sebha, from Tripoli, from Benghazi from

Mustrata.....

In other extracts (B1, B2) below, the elderly father has employed an overlap strategy to seize his turn. An early grasp of the son's question can be a rational conversational motivation for the father to accelerate taking his turn to answer it. It can be seen that the son has repaired the overlapping as he lowered the pitch of his utterances (الوقت هذا) in B1 to rationalise his father's premature turn-taking acquisition.

Extracts B1 and B2 show the occurrence of overlapping and turn-taking in elderly father/younger son conversation. The elderly father is discussing with his son the sale of their farm. (May, 2003)

(Extract B1)

Son: شن ينزرع فيها تو في الوقت هذا ↓

[]

→ Father: ينزرع فيها

كل شي، ينزرع فيها الخضروات وينزرع فيها القصبه الصيفيه....

(Translation of extract B1)

Son: what could be grown on it [the farm] this time?

[]

→ Father:

everything can be grown on it:

vegetables, summer fodder

(Extract B2)

- 1- Son: وين ترجع في خسائرها والا غير هكي؟ ↑
- 2- Father: اه؟ ↓
- 3- Son: ترجع في خسائرها والا غير هكي ↓
- 4- []
- 5- Father: كان إنخدمت ترجع، كانها هي جاهزة ما فيها مشكلة بكل... ↓

(Translation of extract B2)

- 1- Son: will it now [the farm] pay off its debt or not? ↑
- 2- Father: what? ↓
- 3- Son: will it [the farm] pay off its debt or not ↓
- 4- []
- 5- Father: if it is well exploited, it will.

It is ready, there's no problem.....

In extract B2 the son's repeating of his question encourages the father to overlap his son to accelerate his answer. Despite the common rising of intonation that normally accompanies questions (see line1), the son seems to be forced to low the pitch of his utterances in line2 (غير هكي) 'or not' to repair the turn-taking error practised by his father, and subsequently normalise his father's turn-taking performance as it comes after a TCU (change in utterances' pitch).

Nonetheless, common systematic transitions of turn-taking when the speaker invites the listener by asking a question and leaving a slight gap for the listener to take his turn to answer (as in extract C1 below), or producing a TCU (as in extract C2 below), can be spotted in most elderly father/younger son conversations. Such systematic transitions in turn-taking are largely implemented by younger sons who take more

care not to violate the normal transition of turn-taking. Younger sons portray it as very unacceptable for them to overlap or interrupt their elderly fathers' speech (see Chapter 6). Thus, it can be assumed that younger sons prefer to take their turn only when they are invited by their fathers to do so, i.e. answer a question, realise a sufficient gap (see extract C1, C2 below), or receive a TCU.

Extract C1, C2: conversations between a younger son and his elderly father about the son's first baby daughter's *Isbou* party (the 7th day of a newborn baby) (May, 2003).

(Extract C1)

Son: غدوة كيف بتد يرو في السبوع؟

What are you going to do on the Isbou tomorrow?

Father: تورا هات قلم وورقا

Now, bring a pen and paper.

(Extract C2)

Father: هنا و المربوعا هدي عليها الدار سادا

Here and the guest room, that's enough

Son: تسدهم هدى

It's big enough

→ Father: نفتحو الدار هدي نظفوها كويس نفتحوها أه؟

And we open this room, clean it tidily and prepare it, yah?

Son: باهي

Ok

→ Father: المربوعا هدي أه؟

This guest room, yah?

Son: لا خلاص

That's fine

→ Father: وازو الصغار....أه؟

Choose some of the children [to help you], yah?

Son: باهي غير ضغط بس مرات

Ok, it could be very hot

→ Father: لالا مش بكل ما فيه ضغط راه في الليل الكلام هدا راهو أه؟

No, no, not to that extent, it won't be very hot at night, yah?

Son: ايه وصيتو علي شي والا شن كيف بتديرو تو؟

Yes. Did you prepare anything, or what, how are you going to do now?

7.2.3. Overlap

It is worth remembering that younger son respondents (see Chapter 6) insisted that it is very unacceptable for them to overlap their fathers' talk. Thus, younger sons, either if they are current speakers or other speakers, should give up the turn to their elderly fathers.

(Extract A3)

1- son: هو عرب واجدة من هنا مشت لأنه داواه وقاعدة تمشي

2- father: أه

3- son:

عرب واجد

4-

[]

5- father: ميزال ميزال تصور ياخا المصرااتي قال مصرااة () كان بريت يجو امعا

6- بعضهم اللي ضاربهم السكر والضغط

(Translation of extract A3)

1- son: there were lots of people who had left, and were still leaving to

2- see him from

3- here when he cured him

- 4- father: what?
- 5- son: lots of people
- 6- []
- 7- father: yet yet imagine the Musrati said that all people in Mustrata
- 8- would come to him () if I was cured, all of those who are
- 9- suffering from diabetes and blood pressure.

In extract A3 (English version, above) an overlap can be monitored in lines 5, 6, and 7. It is arguable that what causes the overlap here is that the father has seen what his son was going to say, as the father was not sure of what his son said in lines 1 and 3, therefore asked him to repeat, 'what?', line 4. The son responded and repeated to his father by starting his turn with the key words of his previous statement 'lots of people'. Those key words might give the father an advance assurance of knowing what his son was talking about, and thus he seized his turn by performing an overlap. Again, it can be noticed that the son has forfeited his turn though he was the current speaker. Moreover, slight overlap can occur well before performing interruption (see extract B3, below).

Studying all the extracts, it seems very hard to identify an overlap incidence practised by younger sons (subjects) when conversing with their elderly fathers. In fact, despite being the current speakers, younger sons go further and give up their turn every time their elderly fathers overlap them. In contrast, elderly interactants (subjects) have no hesitation in overlapping their younger sons' talk to hastily take the turn. Elderly fathers appear not to be following the norms of conversation. Rather, they seem to exploit their dominant position in their familial and social construction and status. Similarly, the pleasance and harmony exhibited by the younger interactants in

accepting their elderly fathers’ violation of conversation norms could indicate their acknowledgement and commitment to the familial and social values that organise and constrain the norms of elderly father/younger son communication and discourse.

7.2.4. Interruption

In this research, younger son respondents (see Chapter 6) strongly denounce the performance of interruption when talking with their elderly fathers. The younger and elderly respondents in this study in particular and their society in general describe younger sons who interrupt their elderly fathers’ talk as ‘very bad’ and ‘disobedient’. In contrast, elderly father respondents declared that it is very acceptable for them to use interruption when talking to their younger sons.

(Extract B3)

- 1- son: كيف قتلي الحداد بياخذ الوحدة [المزرعة]
- 2- father: الحداد ياولد ادهور في المزرعة وشبح فيها وشبح وقال بيشريها
- 3- son: باهي وخير//ا تا
- 4- []
- 5- father: //وعزما في الشراء
- 6- son: خير د//عو
- 7- []
- 8- father: //بعدين ماآ قال انلم قروشي انضم قروشي ونجيك
- 9- باهي؟

(Translation of extract B3)

- 1- son: what did you tell me, Alhadad [a person] will buy the thing
- 2- [the farm]?
- 3- father: oh son, Alhadad had a walk around the farm and looked at it

- 4- and said he would buy it.
- 5- son: alright, so why h//e is la
- 6- []
- 7- father: //and his desire is for buying
- 8- son: what's w//ron
- 9- []
- 10- father: //then, m: a: a:: he said that he will get his money
- 11- together and come to you.
- 12- son: yah

Extract B3 (English version, above) shows the father's fluent and free practicing of overlap and subsequent interruption of his son's turns. Lines 5-10 display two interruption incidences where the father did not allow his son to finish his turn. It can be suggested that the father in this extract has no interactional or contextual excuses to perform his overlap and interruptions. In other extracts (e.g. A3 and B2, above) the fathers' successful forecasting of what their sons were going to say might have encouraged them to violate the norms, overlap their sons and seize their turns. But in this extract, the son's statements (lines 5 and 8) are incomplete and therefore incomprehensible. That could indicate that the father ignored those statements, and did not build, conversationally or contextually, his turn on them. Rather, the father seems to carry on linking his statements in lines 3, 4, 7, and 10. That can be obvious in the linking words which the father has started his turn with ('and' in line 7, and 'then' in line 10). Hence, despite the father's performing of normal TRPs to take turns with his son, he violated the norms and interrupted his son. Thus, it can be noticed

that unlike the son's turns, which occurred in conventional conversation TRPs, the father's turns were seized unconventionally by performing overlaps and interruptions. It is noticeable that there were hardly any interruptions by younger sons in the 6 elderly father/younger son naturally-occurring interactions recorded for this research. Nonetheless, extract B4 below, shows an incomplete hesitant attempt by the son to attain his turn in an unconventional way.

(Extract B4)

- 1- son: هو ساكن في سبها؟
- 2- father: آه؟
- 3- son: في سبها والا من برا سبها
- 4- []
- 5- father: لا هو من سكان سبها هو
- 6- son: أ-م-م
- 7- father: هو من سكان المنشية ينقالا محمد حسين الحداد
- 8- son: بأهي

(Translation of extract B4)

- 1- son: does he live in Sebha?
- 2- father: what?
- 3- son: in Sebha or on outskirts of Sebha?
- 4- []
- 5- father: no, he lives in Sebha, he=
- 6- son: =a: wh-whe
- 7- father: he is from Almanchiya [a suburb in
- 8- Sebha] and is called Mohammed Hussien Alhadah.
- 9- son: alright

In line 6 (translation of B4 above) the son made an attempt to take his turn following no TRP or invitation from the current speaker (father). However, the son reapplied himself to the norms and ceded the turn once he realised that his father had not finished what he was going to say. That would not have happened if the current speaker was the son, where the new speaker (the father) would not follow the conversational norms and cede the turn to his son (see also extracts B3; A3 above).

7.2.5. Repair Strategies

The research examines the repair strategies employed by elderly fathers and younger son interlocutors. Extract D1 below demonstrates repair strategy employed in elderly father/younger son conversation. The elderly father narrates the legendary story of *Bani Hilal* to his son. (May 2003).

(Extract D1)

- 1- Father: قاللها (.....) تذبحيها لي الجعدا- الناقة؟
- 2- (..)
- 3- Son: لا كيف هي قاتلا يا باتي؟ ما لاح بينا ضاوي؟
- 4- []
- 5- Father: لالا مازال
- 6- Son: آه؟
- 7- Father: لا قال آ قاللها (تعيش) في الخاطر اذا جاكو؟ قاتلا سبعة شهور والا لا يا باتي....
- 8- []
- 9- Son: ايه ايه

(Translation of extract D1)

- 1- Father: he said to her (.....) would you slaughter the camel for me?
- 2- (...)

- 3- Son: no, what did she say to him, father? 'No light has appeared
4- between us?'
5- []
6- Father: no no no, this is not yet
7- Son: so?
8- Father: no, he said- he said to her oh daughter does it live in the mind if
9- it came? She replied, seven months, isn't it father?
10- []
11- Son: yah, yah

Extract D1 (the English translation) above shows the repair strategies adopted by the son to correct his father. It can be noticed here that the son tries to correct the sequences of the story narrated by his father. It seems that the son has employed more than one strategy. Firstly, the pause in line 2 could be considered as an opportunity given to the father to correct himself. Secondly, the son in line 3 gives more clues to his father (no, what did she say to him, father?). Yet, as the son received no response from his father, he tried another strategy (line 3, 4) by framing a correction as a question to allow more opportunity to his father to self-correct in the next turn. In contrast, the father in lines 5 and 6 applies the least preferable repair strategy. Firstly, he overlapped his son, using other-initiated repair to his son by repeating 'no' three times (no, no, no), and then other-correct repair to his son (this is not yet). The effects of the father's employment of the least preferable repair strategy (other-initiated other-repair) can obviously be seen in the son's quietly surrendering reply (so?) in line 7, which shows the son's acknowledgement of his mistake and subsequently his acceptance of other-correction. The father in lines 8 and 9 repeatedly emphasises his

strategy by uttering another other-initiated (no) and another other-correction (he said- he said to her oh daughter does it live in the mind if it came? She replied, seven months, isn't it father?).

(Extract E1)

- 1- Father: الناس تاخذ من بعضها وتساعدا في بعضها وين يعرفوك ماشي وبتمشي وتجي ()
- 2- تاجر تخش عليه راس الشهر تخلص تاخذ حاجة ثانية
- 3- ()
- 4- Son: قاعدا للآن هذي =
- 5- Father: = ايه قاعدا للآن الناس اللي آلا- في التسعينات بعد منين فتحنا الدكان هذا واللهي
- 6- ما نعرفا، هوا يعرفني
- 7- Son: منو عادلو؟
- 8- Father: آيه
- 9- Son: المصرااتي والا وش سماه؟
- 10- Father: المصرااتي ما هو عادل
- 11- Son: آه
- 12- Father: خوه والا آ آ- م عادل ما نعرفا
- 13- Son: آه التارقي- زي التارقي فقي والا حسناوي هذا الأزرق الطويل و الا أيين؟
- 14- Father: لالا آ هذا مصرااتي () عند واحد نسجلو عندا- نسجلو عندا في البضاعة ()
- 15- بناخذها بفلوسي () كهب علي قالا الحاج بلحسن اذا طلب حاجة إلهي يطلبها
- 16- عطيتها له وأني المسؤول

(Translation of E1)

- 1- Father: people borrow from each other and help each other. When they
- 2- know you are coming and going to buy, you go to a trader at
- 3- the beginning of the month, pay him for what you've taken last
- 4- month, and take other goods and pay later.

- 5- (....)
- 6- Son: this habit still exists
- 7- Father: yes, it still exists, people who:: the::- in the nineties when we
- 8- opened this shop. I swear by Allah that I didn't know
- 9- him, he knew me
- 10- Son: who? Adel?
- 11- Father: yah
- 12- Son: was he the Mustrati, or what's his name?
- 13- Father: the Musrati is not Adel
- 14- Son: so?
- 15- Father: his brother or- a-m I don't know Adel
- 16- Son: Ah the Targi- a Targi-like or Hasnawi, that black tall man or
- 17- who?
- 18- Father: no no a- this one was Musrati () we had been in a shop
- 19- listing- listing goods (.) I was going to buy with my money (.)
- 20- the man bound on me and told the shop owner that if Hajj
- 21- Bilhissen [the speaker] wants any goods just give them to him
- 22- and I'll be responsible.

Similarly, in extract E1 above (the English translation) the son in line10 tried to help his father memorise the person he met in a shop in the nineties. Though, as the father has uttered nothing to be repaired, the son realised that his father could not remember in an asking and confirmation check style. In contrast, the father adopted the least preferable repairing strategy (other-initiated) in line 13 'the Musrati is not Adel' to correct his son in line 12. It could be assumed that the toughness of such a repairing

strategy led the son to surrender, 'so?' in line 14. The father carried on the other half of his repairing strategy (other-repair) in line 15 though he was not sure about his repairing materials, 'his brother or- a-m I don't know Adel'. In lines 16 and 17, the son perceived an initiation from his father in line 15, and tried to implement his repair in a question and confirmation check style. The scenario was repeated again where the son in line 16 and 17 understood his father's uncertainty of the person's name as a self-initiated attempt to repair him. Firstly, the son made an attempt to allow his father to repair himself by giving him clues to stir his memory, line 16, 'Ah the Targi- a Targi-like or Hasnawi, that black tall man'. Despite that not working, the son still employed a moderate other-repair strategy (confirmation checking, or who?' lines 16; 17). Similarly, the father in line 18 might interpret his son's question and confirmation-checking strategy as an invitation for him either to confirm the son's information or correct it. The father showed an interesting unwillingness to perform his repair in a forceful way, 'no no a- this one was Musrati'. Consequently, the father in lines 18-22 ended the exchange of the interactional repair he had with his son. One could argue that the reason why the son adopted such a style was that he was not certain of his information. This argument can be acceptable. However, it is interesting to notice here that the father was also not certain of his knowledge of the person's name, though he adopted a repairing strategy different to his son's. Thus, despite the equality in the uncertainty of both father and son of the person's name, both seemed to adopt different strategies to repair each other (father= other-initiated other-repair; son= self-initiated other-repair, but in a mitigated way: question and confirmation check style).

(Extract E2)

1-Father: أني آ أني بندير مزرعة قالي باهي () في شهر واحد خمسة وستين

- 2- ()
- 3- Son: خمسة وستين؟ ↑ خمسة وسبعين
- 4- []
- 5- Father : خم خمسة وسبعين
- 6- شهر واحد خمسة وسبعين () مشينا أني وسليمان عندا وطا شبحناها أني وعبدالله
- 7- بو عنيزة....

(Translation of extract E2)

- 1- Father: I a a I'll buy a farm. He told me ok () in the first month
- 2- [January] in sixty five
- 3- ()
- 4- Son: sixty five?↑ seventy five
- 5- []
- 6- Father: fi- fiv- seventy five. The first month in seventy five
- 7- () Solomon and I went to the man's land and saw it with
- 8- Abdullah Abu Inayza

In extract E2 above, the same interactants (as in E1) performed a repair scenario. In this extract the father was telling his son about the story of buying their farm. At the beginning of this topic (not transcribed), the father said that he bought the farm in 1975. The father mistakenly uttered 'sixty five' (line 2 in the translation of E2) instead of seventy five as the year when he decided to buy the farm. We can see here that the son has consecutively performed more than one repair strategy, beginning from the most preferable and ending with the least preferable. Firstly, the son performed a pause in line 3 to give his father the opportunity for self-initiated self-repair. Secondly, in line 4 'sixty five?↑' the son adopted a mitigated other-initiated

- 17- مقابلها فيه محلات زمان كان فيه واحد يبيع في المواد- في ال- القمم متخصص في
- 18- القمم في الشوكة جاي
- 19- Father: أيه هدين محلاتهم؟
- 20- Son: هدين المحلات وهوا يسكن فوق () عندا شقة فوق منهن

(Translation of extract F1)

- 1- Father: from whom of the Ghoos do you think?
- 2- Son: son of Alaabid
- 3- Father: son of?
- 4- Son: Alaabid
- 5- Father: Alaabid?
- 6- Son: yah
- 7- Father: do you think Mohammed?
- 8- Son: by Allah, I don't know which of Alaabid's sons he is
- 9- Father: isn't he Slaymani Alaabid?
- 10- Son: no no there is another one Ghosi (.) there is one [Alaabid]
- 11- from the Ghoos and one from Awlaad Slayman
- 12- Father: the Mohammed Alaabid I know is Slaymani
- 13- Son: no a:: the Ghoos also has got one [carries the same name]
- 14- ()
- 15- Son: their shops- have you seen where their shops are- have you
- 16- seen the airline's new building which I am working in
- 17- now? opposite opposite it there are shops. In the past there
- 18- was one selling materials- in th- tyre, specialized in tyres in the
- 19- corner?
- 20- Father: yah, are these their shops?

21- Son: these are their shops, and he lives there () he has a flat

22- built there

Extract F1 above exhibits similar repair strategies employed by elderly fathers and younger sons interacting with each other. In line 9 (the English version of extract F1), the father asked if Alaabid (a father) belongs to the Awlaad Salayman (a tribe in Sebha). The enquiry status of the father's statement can be perceived as a self-initiated requirement for other-repair from the son. Although the son, in lines 10 and 11 started his other-repair with 'no no', he uttered his repair in the rest of lines 10 and 11 in an extremely gentle mitigated style. The son's reply 'there is another Ghosi (.) there is one [Alaabid] from the Ghoos and one from Awlaad Slayman' discharges the father from committing a mistake. The son cleverly embedded his repair with an excuse for his father by saying that 'you are right father but the person we are talking about belongs to another tribe, which has a person with a similar name'. Yet, the father in line 12 disputed his son by overlapping him insisting that that person belongs to the tribe he knows (Awlaad Slayman) and not (Ghoos). The father here adopted other-repair strategy to correct his son. Again, the son in this interaction employed a repair strategy similar to that employed by other younger son interactants in this research. In line 14 the son allowed a short silence to give his father the chance to self-repair himself. When that did not work, the son hesitantly 'no a::' went further to apply a moderate other-repair technique also carrying an excuse for the father's mistake (line 13). On the other hand, the father gave no response that agreed or disagreed with his son's repair, which led the son to continue providing more evidence to his father to convince him that the man in this incident belongs to the

Ghoos tribe and not to Awlaad Slayman, who carried the same name. The father, finally, has indirectly accepted his son's repair 'yah, are these their shops?' line 20.

7.2.6. Time-span Distribution of Conversation

In this subsection, the researcher quantifies the duration of speech each interactant (elderly father and younger son) has achieved when conversing with each other. The measurement of the time-span of each interactant's talk was established by using a tape-recorder timer. It should be noted that the obviously significant difference of the time-span of talk occupied by elderly and younger interactants does not require numerical evidence. In extract Cs the father's monopolisation of the duration of talk can clearly be recognised (for full extract Cs, see appendix, pp.209-212). The father's statements appear much longer than those of son who was mostly limited to producing agreements and short comments. Interestingly, despite talking about a topic that mostly means the son's daughter's party, the father demonstrates more monopoly of the conversation's time-span.

However, in extract Ds, the elderly father's monopoly of most of the conversation's time can be justified by his recounting a legend (*Bani Hilal*). Thus, the father was playing the role of a narrator. In the rest of the conversation, when the topic was changed, the father was still monopolising most of the talk's duration. Such elderly fathers' monopoly of the time-span of conversations over their younger sons can also be identified in the other extracts (see appendix p.212-218).

7.2.7. Adjacency Pairs

(Extract C3)

Q1 Son: غدوة كيف بتد يرو في السبوع؟

What are you going to do on the Isbou
tomorrow?

Father: تروا هات قلم وورقا

Now, bring a pen and paper.

Son: مباھي

Ok

Father: هات القلم وورقا قبل هي

→ Firstly, go and bring a pen and paper.

Q2 Son: تعدو مجموعا واللا؟

You are going to prepare a list, aren't you?

A2 Father: ايه هاتهن هي يا سيدي جهزها وتو بعدين انسقوها

Yes, bring them (my sir) prepare it and we will organize it later on.

Son: امباھي

Ok

The father in this extract (C3 above) did not provide an answer to his son's question (Q1). Rather, he ordered his son to bring him a pen and a paper first. The word 'firstly' in the arrowed line indicates that the father has received his son's question (Q1), and he would like to postpone his answer. Hence, the father's postponing answer seemed to be enough for the son to perceive it as an answer to his Q1, as bringing a pen and a paper should be part of what his father is planning to do for the party (making a list for the guests). The son checked the accuracy of his guessing and interpreting of what his father would do with the pen and paper by addressing his father with another question (Q2), but a tag question this time. It seems that the son has succeeded in getting an answer to his question, which could also satisfy his first question (Q1) as well.

A similar violation of the adjacency pair convention can be identified in extract A4 below. The father gave no reply to his son's interrogation about information he has heard about the herbal curer (line1). A clear interactional reply to the son's interrogation Q1 is absent here. Such an absence can arguably be attributed to two interactional and contextual rationales. Firstly, it is recognisable that the son's statement is line1 was not a clear and direct question that should have ended with a rising intonation (indicated by a question mark in the transcription). Secondly, the father started his turn with the article 'حتى' (even) which may indicate that the previous statement (the son's Q1) on what the herbal curer is instructing his patients to do ('It has been said that even water, he [the curer] gives it by measures or time') is right and in addition to that the herbalist bans red meat and allows only chicken and fish (lines 3 and 4, in the translation). Q2 was successfully paired with an answer A2 as it was produced in a conclusive and confirmation-checking style. Thus, the short and precise answer A2 'yes' was introduced by the elderly father in line 6. .

(Extract A4)

- 1- son: حتى المية قالو يعطي فيها بالكيل و الا () الوقت
- 2- father: حتى اللحم الأحمر مانعه كان غير دجاج و الاحوت وما تكثر منه
- 3- son: صار مانع عليكم حتى اللحم
- 4- father: ايه

(Translation of extract A4)

- Q1 1- son: It has been said that even water, he [the curer] gives it by
- 2- measures or () time
- 3- father: he even bans red meat. He allows only chicken or fish in
- 4- certain quantities
- Q2 5- son: so, he even bans you from meat?

A2 6- father: yes

7.2.8. Preference Organisation

The section examines how elderly fathers and younger sons (subjects) deliver their preferred and dispreferred responses when conversing with each other.

(Extract C4)

→ Son: باهي اي باهي كيف بتديرو تروا نسجلوهم اني و صرار كان ها

Ok, yah, ok, what are you going to do, if so we will write down the guest list, Sarrar and I.

→ Father: لا

No

Son: ؟ا

So?

Father: اني الي نسجلك بيش تعرف اللي تعزمه

I 'm the one who is going to list them for you to know who to invite.

Extract C4 above shows how an elderly father (subject) produces his dispreferred utterances to his younger son. The son (in the arrowed line) proposed to his father that he and his brother Sarrar would write the guest list. The father replied in a short and straight refusal manner 'no'. Mitigated and/or explanatory utterances cannot be identified even when the son, in the second turn, asked for justification or an alternative to his suggestion. The father did not make any attempt to moderate his refusal as he insisted in the last line on the idea that he is the person in charge of issuing the guest list 'I 'm the one who is going to list them for you to know who to

invite'. A similar style of performing disprefferal utterances was expressed by the same elderly father in extract C5 below.

(Extract C5)

Son: قبل أني قتل لحم نقسموه و خلاص

Before, I suggested that we should distribute raw meat only.

→ Father: انتز لالا

Ntz, [smacking lips in disagreement] no, no, no

The father shows his disagreement to his son's suggestion to distribute raw meat among friends and neighbors instead of cooking large meals and inviting them to the house to celebrate the seventh day of the son's first baby daughter. In fact, the father's refusal utterances this time have come stronger and emphatic 'no, no, no' preceded by a gesture 'ntz' (smacking lips), which could noticeably demonstrate the father's irritation and disagreement with his son's suggestion.

In contrast, younger sons seem to express their disagreement and refusal to what their elderly fathers may say or offer in a completely different style from that of their fathers. Unlike his father in extracts C4 and C5 above, the son in extract C6 below produced reluctant agreement, 'well, that's fine', to express his disagreement to his father's decision to receive the guests in one of the guest rooms in the family house. The son's reluctance appeared clearer when he raised his caution (in the son's second arrowed turn): it might be very hot in this room. However the son's turn is headed by an agreement utterance 'ok', the word 'but' comes to minimise the agreement and raise caution and embedded disagreement instead.

(Extract C6)

Father: المربوعا هدي أه؟

This guest room, yah?

Son: لا خلاص

→ well, that's fine

Father: وازو الصغار....أه؟

Choose some of the children [to help you], yah?

Son: باهي غير ضغط بس مرات

→ Ok, but it might be very hot

Despite his disagreement of the idea of inviting guests and serving cooked food, the son in extract C7 below responded positively to his father's listing of what should be cooked for the party. The son revealed his preference enthusiastically by repeating 'ok, ok'.

(Extract C7)

Father: شن بيديرو هما ليل هوا بيديرو اا بيديرو اا مكرونا وكسكي

What shall we do, it is night, we'll do a a , we'll do a a pasta and
cous cous

Father: هريسا؟ هريسا وخضرا ومشروب أه؟

Hareesa? Hareesa and vegetables and drinks, yah?

→ Son: باهي باهي

Ok, Ok

7.3. Interaction between Elderly Peers

7.3.1. Introduction

This section explores the elderly/elderly communications and discourses. The analysis includes naturally-occurring conversations in three elderly groups. CA accounts, i.e. turn-taking, overlapping, interruption, etc., are discussed in detail. The analyst aims at identifying the interactional features that may characterise elderly/elderly

communication and discourse. A comparison and contrast will be implemented between the features of elderly father/younger son interactions and the elderly/elderly interactions that will be studied in this section.

7.3.2. Turn-taking

As mentioned previously, the system of turn-taking must be extremely robust (Seedhouse, 2004). In extract EA1 below (English version), a group of three elderly fathers take turns in a more systematic style. Elderly1 allows elderly2 to take his turn by addressing him with a question (lines 1 and 2). However, elderly 3 in line 5 violated the norms by performing an overlapping with the current speaker (elderly1). A similar violation of turn-taking organisation (current speaker stops and new speaker starts) can also be noticed in lines 6-8). In lines 9 and 10, turn-taking exchange has returned to the norm when elderly1 waited until elderly3 had finished his turn. Extract EA1 below shows elderly/elderly conversation. This group of three elderly men is playing dice (with stones).

(Extract EA1)

1- Elderly1: ما تندرى عن برنامجك كيف الرجل؟

2- Elderly2: الرجل؟ ↑

3- Elderly1: تندم عليه الكلام هذا

4- []

5- Elderly3: هذا الكلام ما هو يالاك

6- Elderly1: لا إله إلا الله.....ه

7- []

8- Elderly3: لا إله إلا الله خيرك؟ مات؟ ↑

9- Elderly1: مات والله

(Translation of extract EA1)

- 1- Elderly1: you don't know about the man's programme?
2- Elderly2: the man? ↑
3- Elderly1: you will be sorry about what you've said
4- []
5- Elderly3: what I'm saying is none of your business
6- Elderly1: no God but Alla:::h
7- []
8- Elderly3: no God but Alla::h, what is it [the game] over?↑
9- Elderly1: it is over, by Allah

7.3.3. Overlap

(Extract EA2)

- 1- Elderly1: من وين جبتهم؟
2- Elderly2: من هنا
3- Elderly1: لا ماهو من هنا↑:
4- []
5- Elderly2: قتاك من هنا
6- []
7- Elderly3: أهو هنا الرشاد قدا::مك
8- []
9- Elderly2: ما فيه شي

(Translation of extract EA2)

- 1- Elderly1: from where did you get them [the dice stones]?
2- Elderly2: from here

- 3- Elderly1: no, not from here↑
- 4- []
- 5- Elderly2: I told you, from here
- 6- []
- 7- Elderly3: here are the stones in front of you.
- 8- []
- 9- Elderly2: there is nothing there.

In extract EA2 above (see also extract EA1 in the previous subsection), overlapping appears to be freely conducted by the three elderly interlocutors. In lines 3-9 (English version), three overlapping incidences have occurred simultaneously. It can be noticed here that elderly interactants (subjects) do not make any attempt to repair the disorder of turn-taking which results in the occurrence of overlapping. As can be seen in lines 3-9, the three elderly fathers talk at the same time, quarrelling about where to find stones for their dice game. Each current speaker insisted on finishing his statement despite being overlapped. On the other hand each new speaker violated the norms and did not give up the turn to the current speaker, but carried on talking.

Unlike elderly father/younger son interaction, where younger sons cede their turns to avoid overlapping their fathers, elderly interactants (current speakers and new speakers) do not give up the turn to each other. Rather, elderly current and/or new speakers show an insistence to finish their turns despite causing considerable overlapping. Elderly interactants in lines 3, 5, and 7 uttered full statements that had not been affected by the occurrence of overlap. In contrast, in elderly/younger interactions (extract A3, p.108) heavy overlapping was impracticable. Younger sons

always give up their turns to their elderly fathers whether they are the current or a new speaker to avoid practicing overlapping.

7.3.4. Interruption

It can be noticed that extracts EA1 and EA2 above show interruption occurrences alongside overlapping and turn-taking mechanisms. As mentioned before, a slight overlap can normally be identified in the occurrence of turn-taking. That is when the new speaker might have thought that the current speaker had finished his turn, thus he would take the turn to talk. But, when the new speaker realises that the current speaker has not finished his turn, he follows the norms and cedes the turn to the current speaker. In elderly/elderly interaction, it seems that interlocutors (subjects) do not apply themselves to the norms and give back the turn to the current speaker if he has not finished talking yet. Rather, elderly new speakers carry on talking which may cause an interruption to the current speaker. Furthermore, what may characterise interruption in elderly/elderly discourse is that the new speakers do not employ excusing or apologetic phrases neither at the beginning nor at the end of their interrupting statement. Equally they do not feel hesitant or embarrassed of interruption when interacting with each other. This is in contrast with younger son interactants who exhibit great hesitance and reluctance in interrupting when conversing with their elderly fathers.

7.3.5. Repair Strategies

In extract EA2 above, the three elderly father interactants were quarrelling about where to find stones for their dice game. In line 1 (in the English translation), elderly1 asked elderly 2 where he got the stones. A normal exchange of turns can be noticed in

line 1 and 2, where elderly2 replied (from here). However, the mechanism elderly1 employed to repair elderly2's answer to his question was in a disputing and provoking style. That led elderly2 to be infuriated, thus overlapped his interlocutor and raising his voice to express his anger (line 3). It seems that elderly3 involved himself in the dispute (line 7) and tried to mitigate and end the argument by suggesting to elderly2 where he could find stones 'أهو هنا الرشاد قدا::مك' (here are the stones in fro::nt of you). Yet, elderly3's attempt to repair elderly2 and elderly1 as well was not a mitigating one. The raising of his voice and lengthening of 'fro::nt' can also be considered as provoking and not a preferred style for repairing. Thus, to sum up in this subsection: elderly interactants (subjects) employ the least preferable technique (other-initiated other-repair) to repair each other. Moreover, they raise their voices and perform overlapping when producing repair which sometimes may lead to magnifying the repair into argument or dispute. It can be noted that the same repairing strategy (other-initiated other repair) is also employed by elderly fathers when interacting with their younger sons. In contrast, younger sons implemented the most preferred repairing strategy (self-initiated self-repair) when conversing with their elderly fathers.

7.3.6. Time-span Distribution of Conversation

The elderly/elderly extracts employed in this section show that elderly interactants share equally the time-span of interaction. Unlike in elderly fathers/younger sons interactions, the exchange of turns and the length of each turn seem to be equally distributed between the elderly interactants (see extracts EAs and EBs, appendix, pp.219-221).

7.3.7. Adjacency Pairs

In extract EB1 below, elderly2’s incomplete query to elderly1 to teach them got a refusal from elderly1 (lines 1-4 English version). In contrast, extract EA1 above reveals a violation of the adjacency pairs convention. Elderly1 in line3 had not answered elderly2’s enquiry about the man. Rather, he addressed elderly3 with a statement on a different topic (lines 3-5). It could be that such violation might have come about because of having more than two interactants in the setting (see Coates, 2003). Moreover, such conversational incidents can be considered as a normal result of the multi-topic-switching feature identified in elderly/elderly conversations (see the previous subsection).

7.3.8. Preference Organisation

In extract EB1 below, elderly3 expressed his refusal of an invitation from his counterparts to attend their lessons in a direct argumentative way ‘ لا لا لا لا ما تقربوني اني ‘ (no no no no don’t approach me. Look for any body else (..) you don’t teach me, I don’t want your lesson).

(Extract EB1)

- 1- Elderly2: تو احني مانا قادرين () بعد بعد
- 2- []
- 3- Elderly1: لا لا لا لا ما تقربوني اني دورولكم عرب اخرى () اني لا تدرسو علي
- 4- ولا تقربوني درسكم ما نبه
- 5- Elderly3: خلاص تو احني خليك
- 6- Elderly1: اي لا لا

(Translation of extract EB1)

(asks, answers) about treatment. The analysis of the extracts recorded for this research bears out such a postulation. Extract IA1 below shows an exchange of turns between an elderly patient and a younger physician. This exchange seems to be governed by the institutional conventions of the interactants.

(Extract IA1)

Physician: شئ اللي تحس فيه يا حاج بالضبط؟
how exactly do you feel, hajj?

Patient: نعم؟
what?

Physician: شن اللي تحس فيه بالضبط؟
how exactly do you feel?

Patient: نحس فيه؟
I feel?

Physician: ايه اللي تحس فيه بالضبط شن؟
yes, how exactly do you feel?

Patient: توا (..) أول ما تحرك علي مرار. أول عندي يا ولدي حساسية اليوم تقريبا سبعة سنين حساس

now (...) firstly bitterness has occurred. First, son, I had
rashes for about seven years, rashes

→ Physician: ایه ایه
 Yah yah

Physician: من وين طالعك الحساسية؟
whereabouts did the rashes appear ?

Patient: أكل حساسية
all rashes

Physician: في وين في وين طالعلك الحساسية؟ جسمك كلالا؟
whereabouts, whereabouts did the rashes appear? All over your
body?

Patient: أكل، مشيت لطرابلس، مشيت لتونس، مشيت ماخليت مكان وهانا وكل ولكن الحمد
لله ربي حفظها علي حفظة شهود (....) جاتني شوية هنا طشيشا في وجهي اهي هنا
حاجة بسيطة
all, I went to Tripoli, I went to Tunis, I went, I hadn't left a
place [unvisited], and here, and all, but thank God who saved
me (....) they appeared very little on my face, here, very tiny
spots here.

7.4.3. Overlap and Interruption

It can be acknowledged that overlapping and interruption incidences are hardly identified in the hospital interaction in this research. That may be attributed to the considerable influence of the institutional conventions on these interactional accounts. Both interactants (the elderly patient and the physician) avoid performing overlapping and interruption to enhance the understandability between each other. The physician wishes to know exactly what his patient is complaining about, and the patient needs to lead the physician to a successful diagnosis. Thus, both interlocutors mutually participate to establish the norms of conversation and avoid violating those norms by performing overlaps and/or interruptions. Nonetheless, slight overlapping can be seen by the physician to encourage his elderly patient to talk about his symptoms or complaints (see extract IA1 above, the arrowed line, and the arrowed lines in extract IB1 below).

(Extract IB1)

- Patient: تو اللي يديرلك عملية ما بيرم عليها يشبحها؟
now whoever does an operation on you, shouldn't he look after
it [the operation]?
- Physician: ايه
Yah
- Patient: (.....)
- Physician: ماهو هاداك اللي قايللا دير العملية
it was that [doctor] who told him to do the operation
- Patient: لكن (اسمع) الصبع عليم الله يوجع في (.....) علي ما قتللا يا ولد غير تعال (.....)
والله ما صببا علي
but (listen) the toe, God knows, is hurting me (....) as much
as I told him oh son just come (....) by Allah, he didn't come to
me.
- Physician: صح صح صح
you're right you're right you're right
- Patient: قتللا إنت غير تقطع كراعي وتمشي، كيف؟ (.....) لكن مااا يجي، يشبح كراعا
ويجي يشبح الأمر هو اللي دايرللا عملية إحني انقولو ولادته قماطته
I told him you just amputated my toe and went away. How?
(....) but how come, he should've looked after my foot, and
come to see what the matter is, he is the one who did the
operation, we say his [a Baby] midwife should be the person
who swaddles him.
- Physician: صح صح
you're right you're right

7.4.4. Repair Strategies

Looking at extract IA2 below, the elderly patient insists on giving more clarification to his doctor on where his hometown Jezaw is located. In the first arrowed line the elderly patient seems to check the physician's awareness of Jezaw being 'twenty kilometres from Mourzque'. The elderly patient still suspects the doctor's lack of knowledge and therefore is testing the doctor's knowledge of Jezaw in the second arrowed line 'the country of Al-Jezawi [person], do you know- have you heard of Al-Jezawi?' Yet, the doctor carried on patiently insisting that he had heard of Jezaw. It could also be argued here that the elderly patient might realise the doctor's unconfirmed answer ('Jezaw, yah' 'yah, yah' 'alright, alright') that he knows Jezaw was a self-initiated strategy from the physician for him to repair (self-initiated other repair). In contrast, the doctor in the last arrowed line employed the least preferable repairing strategy (other-initiated other-repair) to correct his elderly addressee. Though, the elderly patient's abrupt cut-off (-) and trying again to produce the correct name of Al-Jezawi's son could give an indication to the physician to intervene. Therefore, the repairing strategy employed here may well be seen as a preferable one (self-initiated other-repair). It can be noted that elderly fathers (see extract E2, p.117) as well as elderly patients (see the last two lines in extract IA2 below) do not utter any verbal acknowledgement to their addresser for repairing them (i.e. 'thank you, that's it'; 'that's what I mean'; 'oh this is what I was looking for'). Rather, elderly interactants confidently repeat the corrected utterances and resume the interaction fluently. It can be argued that in doing this elderly interactants (subjects) prefer not to show or admit their weakness (in memory and/or knowledge) in front of younger persons. Therefore, they just grab the correct words from their younger addressers, and unstubblingly begin their turn with those words.

(Extract IA2)

- Physician:

وين ساكن انتا؟
where do you live?
- Patient:

جيزاو
Jezaw
- Physician:

جيزاو؟ آه
Jezaw, yah
- Patient:

عشرين كيلو من مرزق
twenty kilometres from Mourzque [a town]
- Physician:

ايه ايه
yah, yah
- Patient:

أيوه
yah
- Physician:

باهي باهي
alright, alright
- Patient:

بلاد الجيزاوي تعرف- تسمع بالجيزاوي؟
the country of Al-Jezawi, do you know- have you heard of Al-Jezawi [a person]?
- Physician:

ايه ايه سامع بيها ايه
yah, yah, I've heard of it, yah
- Patient:

هذا قريبنا من جيلنا يعني، اهو ولدا هنا يحضر في هانا يقرأ هانا
he is our relative, from our generation I mean, his son is doing a degree here, studying here
- Physician:

شن يقرأ؟
what is he studying?

Patient: الجيزاوي يحضر- يقرأ في الدكتوراه

Al-Jezawi is doing- studying the doctorate

Physician: آه عرفتا ايه ايه عرفتا ايه

ah I know him yah yah, I know him yah

Patient: عبدالعـاـ عبدال

Abdoul Aal- Abdoul

→ Physician: عبدالمالك

Abdoul Malik

Patient: عبدالمالك

Abdoul Al-Malik

Furthermore, in extract IC1 below the physician adopted the least preferable repairing strategy (other-initiated other-repair) to repair his elderly interlocutor. However, the employment of such a strategy does not cause any discomfort to the elderly patient addressee, who carried on talking about his experiences in Sebha.

(Extract IC1)

Patient: إنتا يا ولدي من سبها؟

are you from Sebha, son?

Physician: من سبها ايه

from Sebha, yah

Patient: من سبها بروحها؟

from Sebha itself?

Physician: ايه من سبها

yes, from Sebha

Patient: سبها الجديد والا القرصة؟

Sebha Aljadeed or Algourdha?

→ Physician: أه- المهدية

ah- Almahdiyah

→ Patient: أني كنت ساكن فيها سبها، أني نعرفها إيي:ه

I was living in Sebha, I know it e:::h

7.4.5. Time-span Distribution of Conversation

The elderly patient/younger physician conversations recorded for this research show the monopoly of the elderly patients of the conversations' duration (see extract IB1 above). Other extracts show the equal distribution of the conversation's duration between the elderly patient and his younger physician (see extract IA2 and IC1 above). It seems that elderly patients still exhibit interactional ability to monopolise the conversations' time-span, similarly to what they do when conversing with their younger sons.

7.4.6. Adjacency Pairs

The occurrence of adjacency pairs (mainly question and answer) seems to be well organised in these hospital interactions. Moreover, we can see that the second part (answer) occurs immediately after the first one (question) in most of the interaction. This could be constrained by the diagnostic build-up process implemented in such institutions (see extract IA1 above). The three hospital conversations in this research seem also to be mainly concentrating on the care task objectives 'task-oriented talk', the elderly talks (by asking, answering) about symptoms, the doctor talks (by asking, answering) about treatment to be provided (see also Nussbaum and Coupland, 1995, and for an example, see extract IA1 above).

7.5. Summary and Conclusion of the Chapter

This chapter analyses data gathered by audiotape recording of naturally-occurring conversations between 6 elderly fathers interacting separately with their 6 younger sons, 3 elderly peers groups, and 3 elderly patients with 3 younger physicians. The analysis has applied CA methodology and conventions. The analysis of elderly fathers/younger sons conversations revealed that elderly fathers perform considerable overlap and interruption to their sons' speech. Such performances resulted in the younger sons ceding their turns prematurely to their elderly fathers. In contrast, younger sons very rarely performed overlap and/or interruption during the conversations. Even when overlap and interruption were practised by the elderly interactants, younger interactants seemed to cede their turns to avoid the occurrence of such interactional behaviours. Moreover, the analysis revealed that elderly fathers (respondents) employed the least preferable technique (other-initiated other-repair) to correct their younger sons; whereas their sons addressed their elderly fathers with the most preferable strategy (self-initiated self-repair). Similarly, elderly fathers produced their disagreement in a bald unmitigated style; whereas younger sons, if at all, uttered their disagreement in a suggestive and mitigated style. Moreover, elderly father interactants showed considerable manipulation of the conversations' time-span. It can be concluded that such conversational behaviour in elderly fathers/younger sons discourse exhibits the social status of its interactants. Accordingly, elderly interactants employ their familial and social power and position by manipulating the conversations' turns and time-span. In addition, such power and position are asserted in producing the least preferable repair strategies to correct their younger sons, and adopting bald unmitigated utterances to express their disagreements and refusals. On the other hand, younger interactants show their acknowledgement of their elderly

fathers' status by avoiding overlapping or interrupting their speech. Moreover, they prematurely cede their turns unfinished to their elderly fathers. Younger sons' inferior social and cultural status does not allow them to produce disagreement to their fathers' statements, and/or address them with the least preferable repair strategy (other-initiated other repair). Raising the voice cannot be seen in younger son interactants.

In comparison, elderly/elderly conversations exhibited different characteristics. Elderly interactants exchange turns among each other causing considerable overlap and interruption to each other's speech. Moreover, the conversations' adjacency pairs do not follow the norms. Elderly interactants (respondents) may reply to their addresser's question. Rather, they may direct their talk to another interactant. Elderly/elderly conversations revealed that interactants employ the least preferable strategy (other-initiated other-repair) to repair each other. In addition, they express their disagreements in a robust way. The conversations' time-span seemed to be equally distributed between elderly interactants. It can be concluded that elderly/elderly conversations are established differently from elderly fathers/younger sons conversations, which insists on the familial and social status of the elderly and the younger recognition of such status, and consequently they interact accordingly. Barriers and constraints, e.g. age, that control elderly father/younger son interaction no longer exist in elderly/elderly interactions.

In the third setting (institutional) involving the elderly, conversations of elderly patients interacting with younger doctors were analysed. The analysis showed that elderly patients did not apply themselves to the institutional settings they are in. Rather, they still carry their social and cultural values and employ them in their institutional interactions with younger physicians. Similarly, younger medics

(respondents) seemed incapable to exhibit their institutional power in their conversations with their elderly patients. The conversations' exchange of turns was not thoroughly task-oriented. Elderly patient interactants still manipulated the conversations' time-span. Furthermore, they again employed the least preferable repair strategy (see extract IA2, p.139). Interestingly, elderly interactants, in both social and institutional settings, did not exhibit acknowledgements (e.g. thank you, that's right) to their younger repairers (see extracts E2, p.117 and IA2, p.139).

To conclude, elderly patients are seen asserting their social construction and status even in institutional settings. Even younger physicians recognise their elderly clients and interlocutors' social status, and hence adhere to it in their institutional interactions. Moreover, younger physicians' institutional power and advantages seem to be redundant when faced with the presence of their elderly patients.

8. Chapter Eight: Characterisation of Interaction and Discourse in the Elderly

8.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the analysis of data collected through semi-structured interviews. The interviews used recordings of 6 elderly fathers and 6 of their younger sons who were recorded interacting with each other. Data was also gathered from semi-structured interviews of 3 younger doctors and 3 elderly patients (for a description of the subjects, see table 8.1 below) whose naturally-occurring conversations were analysed in Chapter 7. Furthermore, the chapter deals with some interactional aspects that emerged from the naturally occurring talk in the previous chapter, which CA showed no concern with, e.g. raisable topics, verbosity, and talkativeness, style and structure, etc. Thus, this chapter supplements the previous analysis chapter by exploring a number of interactional issues that have not been discussed. Moreover, the chapter adds more support and reliability to the findings reported in Chapter 6. The informants were asked to explain in depth the social status of the elderly in Sebha and the way they interact with younger sons.

Respondent Category	Elderly fathers (6)	Younger sons (6)	Elderly patients (3)	Younger physicians (3)
Age	65-85	21-37	67-80	29-31
Status	6 married	4 married 2 singles	3 married	3 singles
Education	4 illiterates 1 secondary school graduate 1 year 9	5 university graduates 1 university student	3 illiterates	University graduates
Number of children	8-18	0-2	15	-
Average of children's age	3-44 years	1month- 2years	26	-
Job	4 pensioners 1 self-employed 1 jobless	4 employees 1 self-employed 1 student	1 self-employed 2 pensioners	Physicians
Family breadwinner	5 yes 1 no	5 yes 1 no	3 yes	3 yes
Attending social events, and in which role?	Yes, Family and tribe representatives	Yes, Self-representatives	Yes, Family and tribe representatives	Yes, Self-representatives

Table 8.1: Status and Roles of Subjects who Participated in the Research’s Audiotaped Recording of Conversations and Semi-structured Interviews

8.2. Elderly Fathers Interacting with Younger Sons

8.2.1. Introduction

This section examines issues that may occur in elderly father/younger son discourse that could characterise elderly interaction and discourse. As mentioned before, the data were collected from semi-structured interviews conducted with 6 elderly fathers and 6 of their younger sons. Data from the tape-recorded conversations between those respondents were also exploited in this section.

8.2.2. Raisable Topics

This issue has been briefly discussed in Chapter 6 in this volume. The informants (6 elderly fathers and 6 of their younger sons) revealed in depth what, how, and why topics could be raised between an elderly father and his younger sons. Concerning the raisability of social and familial topics (i.e. the son's or the father's desire to get engaged or married), elderly father informants revealed that they could not discuss such topics face-to-face with their younger sons. Elderly informant CF stated that he could not talk directly to his son about such an issue because of bashfulness. Thus, the topic has to be raised via a mediator (mainly the mother). Nonetheless, CF acknowledged that after raising the topic with the mother, he might call for his son to talk face-to-face. The elderly father, CF argues, could call for his son to talk face-to-face about this issue; but the younger son would never be able to initiate such a conversation. CF explained that it took him two to three attempts to convince his younger son to talk directly to him about his desire to get married (see extract CF1 below). CF's younger son, CS, put more emphasis on the role of a mediator (the mother) to discuss such a topic with the father. CS stated that once his mother had talked with his father about his desire to get married, he would avoid even meeting his father alone for a number of days (see extract CS1 below).

(Extract CF1)

Interviewer: كيف إتكلم مع ولدك إذا هوا يبني يخطب؟

How would talk with your son if he wants to get engaged?

CF: يقول لإمه قولي لسيدي يمشي للمكان الفولاني. ويقول لها قوليله وقوليله. أني بعدين قد أخذه إلى مكان مطرف ونقوله إنتا قت لإمك وقت. في الأول يسكت مستحي ثم إنقنعه أن يصارحني نقوله لا حياة في الدين مرتين أو ثلاث انصر عليه لإنني نبي نستوضح منه مباشرة.

He tells his mum to ask me to go to the girl's family and he tells her tell my dad so and so. After that I take my son to a place where we sit together only and tell him that you've told your mum so and so. Firstly, he sits shyly silent, and then I convince him to talk frankly, because to shyness in life and religious matters. I need to insist on him two or three times, I need to clarify from him directly.

(Extract CS1)

CS: مستحيل إنتكلم مع باتي في علاقاتي العاطفية. ولما أمي تكلم علي موضوع الخطبة، ما تقدر عين تجي في عينه ونتجنب إني نتقابل معاه ليوم أو أكثر

It is so impossible that I talk with my father about my romantic relationships. And when my mum talked with him about my desire to get engaged, I couldn't meet him face-to-face, and I avoided meeting him for a day or more.

Furthermore, elderly informant FF mentioned a very interesting point about who could act as a mediator. He suggested that the mother or the uncle from the mother's side could play this role, whereas the uncle from the father's side could not do so as he would be considered too close to the father (Peters, 1990). Other familial and social topics like the father's desire to get married and troubles between the father and the mother are classified as prohibited subject by younger sons.

Elderly and younger informants agree that financial and economic topics have to be raised directly between each other. Some elderly fathers (informants CF, EF, DF, and BF) insisted that their younger sons should consult them before entering any buying or selling transactions. On the other hand, they would talk to their sons about any economic transactions they plan. In Extract B3 above (p.110) some parts of the

recorded conversation between the elderly father BF and his younger son BS was about the father's plan to sell the family's farm.

Elderly father CF was talking to his younger son CS about how the family's shop should be working and how CS should manage his financial life as a responsible new father banker (see extracts C1-6 in Chapter 7). Moreover, elderly father EF was conversing with his younger son ES about his experience in trading (see extract E1, p.115).

The conversation between the elderly father DF and his younger son DS also included a financial and economical topic (see extracts E3, E4, B2, and B3 in Chapter 7). It can be noticed here that elderly fathers and younger sons can and most of the time do raise financial and economic topics between each other. The absence of a mediator can also be noticed in these topics.

The six younger son informants strongly denied the ability to raise romantic or sexual issues with their elderly fathers. BS described it as 'difficult' and 'dishonorable' to address your father with such topics. ES postulates that if topics like getting married, which is lawful and religious could not be raised with father, how much less likely would it be to talk about romantic and sexual relationships (i.e. having a girlfriend or an affair) that are considered unlawful and forbidden. Similarly, elderly fathers and their younger sons do not have discussions on sexual and contraceptive issues. Exceptionally, elderly fathers (informants) may call for a mediator (mother) to talk to their married sons if they notice any suspicious delay in them having a baby (especially the first one). Occasionally, the elderly father may ask his wife (the mediator) to check with his daughter-in-law first before talking to the son. To sum up, informants agree that social and familial issues could be discussed via a mediator (the

mother). Financial and economical issues can be and are discussed directly, whereas romantic and sexual topics cannot be raised at all. A mediator is totally absent in discussing financial and economical topics, but could be present in issues concerning the sons' fertility problems.

8.2.3. Verbosity, Talkativeness and Fluency

Elderly informants asserted that in elderly/younger interactions, the elderly should meaningfully and quantitatively dominate the talk over their younger interactants. The significant familial and social role the elderly father occupies in Sebha may encourage them to select their wording responsibly. Representing social events, participating in social compromises, making decisions and placing orders require well structured, relevant, coherent, confident and meaningful language. Moreover, the social role and activities that the elderly play in family and society may well sharpen their memory of experiences, idioms, axioms and different tribal conventions and procedures to support and enrich their speech and consequently be more convincing to their audiences. Elderly fathers (informants) suggested that if their language was not precise, consistent and concrete, they would not command attention and subsequently lose the respect of their younger addressees. In comparison, younger son informants revealed that they place a high value on all that their elderly fathers say. Therefore, they always verbally and most of the time in practice obey what their elderly fathers say, offer or order.

Elderly and younger informants believe that younger sons should listen more than talk when in conversation with their elderly fathers. Elderly informant AF praised the younger son who listened more than he talked with his elderly father as the best kind of son (see extract AF1 below). Conversely, he described a younger son who talked

more than he listened to his elderly father as making a mistake. Such social custom, it can be argued, may well increase the opportunity for elderly fathers to monopolise the time-span of their conversations with younger sons. Nonetheless, elderly fathers' monopolisation of a considerable amount of time in their conversations with their younger sons cannot be described as talkativeness. Similarly, elderly fathers' familial and social role vis a vis their younger sons, i.e. advising, directing, ordering, giving permission, consultancy, etc., provides them with rich interactional knowledge that can fill the time-span they occupy in conversations. Consequently, off-target verbosity and meaningless talkativeness could not be identified in the 6 naturally-occurring conversations tape-recorded for this research. In conclusion, the elderly fathers' (informants) realisation of their familial and social role and status has influenced them to interact and discourse in this way.

(Extract AF1)

AF: أحسن حاجة الولد يسمع أكثر من إنه يتكلم مع باته ... والولد إللي يتكلم أكثر من إنه يسمع هذا غلطان

The best thing is that the son listen more than talk to his father... the sons who talk more than listen is a wrong one.

8.2.4. Style and Structure

Elderly fathers (informants) admitted that they always furnish their conversations with younger sons with examples from their life experiences, axioms and sayings from the Koran and hadith (sayings by the Prophet). They attributed adopting such a style and structure to their advisory, consultative, and authoritative position in both the family and society. Elderly father BF stated that he would mostly include his personal life experiences and religious events in his conversation with his younger son. In extracts

B4 and B5 below, BF incorporated his experience and religious beliefs into his replies to his younger son's statement about the way his grand father's generation did business (in extract B4 below) and his question on how his father celebrated *Eid Almaowled* (the Prophet Mohammed's birthday) in the past (in extract B5 below).

(Extract B4)

Son: زمان الخسارة ما تحسوا فيها

In the past you didn't consider losing money

Father: ما نحسوا فيها () ما نحسوا فيها كيف ما نحسوا فيها. ما هناك واحد يخسر وما يحس لكن

عندنا أمل وعندنا طموح إن هوا يعوض

We didn't consider it () we didn't consider it, how didn't we consider

it it. Nobody loses and doesn't think about it, but there should

be hope and ambition for substitution and recovery.

(Extract B5)

Son: ما تعرفوه زمان الشط ولوح؟

You didn't have bonfires in the past?

Father: ما:: ما نعرفوه الشط ولوح

We didn't have bonfires

Son: امان كيف اديروا في العيد

So what did you do at Eid?

Father: المولد ما هو شط ولوح ولا مفرقعات، المولد ذكر الله سبحانه وتعالى ويتلوك سيرة النبي

صلى الله عليه وسلم

The Maowled is not about bonfires and fireworks, the Maowled is about citation of Allah almighty and recounting the life story of the Prophet Mohammed may Allah's prayer and peace be upon him

Son: صلى الله عليه وسلم

May Allah's prayer and peace be upon him

Father: كيف خدم وكيف هاجر وكيف جاهد وكيف سيرتنا والناس على أقل تقتدي بيه وتبعوا وتدير ما دار

How he [the Prophet Mohammed] worked, migrated, and went on Jihad? And his autobiography, so people at least would model themselves on him, follow him, and do what he did.

Furthermore, the structure and style of elderly father/younger son conversations demonstrate the elderly fathers' familial and social power and status over their younger sons. Elderly father subjects declared that they would vehemently reject what their younger son asks for and/or suggests. They also showed no readiness to include apologies, excuses, and/or justifications for what they may ask their younger sons to do. Elderly subject AF laughed heartily when he was asked if he would say please or excuse me to his son to bring a glass of water. He commented 'ha ha ha, I don't say please to my son; I just say bring water son'. Moreover, elderly subject CF said that he would produce a clear order to his son 'نوض جيب اميه' (go and bring water) rather than begging him (please 'تربح' or justifying his need (we're thirsty 'عطشانين') for that. In extract C6 below, the elderly father CF, with no 'excuse me', asked his younger son CS to bring him a pen and paper.

(Extract C6)

Son: غدوة كيف بتد يرو في السبوع؟

What are you going to do on the Isbou tomorrow?

Father: تروا هات قلم وورقا

Now, bring a pen and paper.

Son: مباهي

Ok

Father: هات القلم وورقا قبل هي

Firstly, go and bring a pen and paper.

Similarly in extract C7, elderly father CF asserted his social status by making decisions on every single point in regard to his granddaughter's party. The younger son CS seemed to go along with this as it is familial and social customs, and unquestionably complied with his elderly father's statements (see extracts C1-6 in Chapter 7).

8.3. Interaction of Elderly Peers

8.3.1. Introduction

This section explores elderly/elderly interaction and communication. The analysis is built on data provided by the 6 elderly fathers' semi-structured interviews and the 3 elderly groups' tape-recorded conversations. Raisable topics, verbosity, style and structure, and other characteristics of elderly/elderly interactions are examined in this section. The features that may characterise elderly/elderly interaction are compared and contrasted with elderly/younger discourse discussed in the above sections of this chapter.

8.3.2. Raisable Topics

Elderly fathers (informants) opined that there is no clear restriction on the topics that elderly interactants may raise among themselves. Thanks to their familial and social role, elderly fathers need to sit together to discuss their offsprings' engagement and wedding procedures. That would not happen in the presence of their sons despite

being the main actors in such events. Moreover, elderly fathers may talk to each other about romantic experiences, stories, and/or poems. In extracts EB2 below, the elderly peers were listening to a romantic story that included some strong language (see the arrowed turns).

(Extract EB2)

Elderly1: تو هو واخذ درس () قبلها () الحاصلة تعقد من النساء قال أنا المرة- اني مرة

خرى النساء اني معد ناخذهن بكل

Now he's learnt his lesson () before () he had complications with women. He said that this-I would not be marrying again.

Elderly2: باهي

yah

→ Elderly1: يوم من الأيام طاح في وحدة مصوفة كيف متاع الإثنين والجمعة هذا قالو قالت قات
أني لحم الذكر ما ناكلش

One day he met a mystic woman, like that [pointing at an elderly man sitting with them] who fasts on Mondays and Fridays. It's been said she said that she will not eat meat from a male animal.

Elderly2: بي

Bay [a sound showing disbelief or excitement]

Elderly1: حتى من الغنم والا ال- الا المعيز

Even the meat of sheep or th-the goats

Elderly2: ما تاكلأ؟

Never eat it?

→ Elderly1: عيشان الذكور () ما تحب طاري الذكور خايفة منهم حتى لحم الذكور ما ناكلأ

Because of their masculinity () she hates any mentioning of masculinity that's why she's afraid, meat from a male animal, she wouldn't eat it.

Elderly2: إيواه باهي

Oh, yah

Elderly1: ناض قال هذي صاحبتني=

So he stood up and said this can be my wife=

Elderly2: =هالمصوفة=

=This mystic woman? =

Elderly1: =خذاها () خذاها ظهرت عطب من الأولات

=He married her () after marriage he found her worse than his previous wife

Elderly2: بي

bay

Elderly1: واخذ منها درس

And thus he learnt a lesson from her

In extract EB3 below, the elderly peers were reciting a romantic poem. They were feeling nostalgic for their youth. The poet is telling his lover that eternity is just for God.

(Extract EB3)

Elderly2: بعد الشياب بعد الشياب بت- بتقرا؟

after adulthood after adulthood, you go- you're going to study?

Elderly1: بعد الشياب آ الله دايم بعد الشياب، دلالك غاب، رفيقك تم تقول غراب

after adulthood a: Allah is the eternal, after adulthood, your

wishes have disappeared as your lover has become like a crow

Elderly2 لا حول الله

no ability but with Allah

Elderly3: لا حول ولا قوة الا بالله () راهو يشعر

no ability and no power but with Allah () he is rhyming.

8.3.3. Verbosity, Talkativeness and Fluency

Elderly peers in Sebha meet with each other to talk about their proud past and busy present life. They talk about their experiences and economical and social achievements, e.g. 'I've been to tribe A's funeral', 'I bought a new car', etc. Moreover, elderly men discuss familial and tribal issues, and work at solutions for any trouble the family or the tribe might face. Therefore, a prosperous exchange of spoken materials, e.g. idioms, sermons, social conventions, experiences, etc., can be found in elderly/elderly discourse. Elderly informant BF revealed that in a conference of elderly men, each elderly speaker knows 'what to say and when and how to say it' (see extract BF1 below).

(Extract BF1)

BF: كبير السن محترم ويعرف كيف يتحدث. لهم خبرة في الحديث وإسلوبه... كل مناسبة عزاء أو طلب زواج لها كلام معين وإسلوب خاص .. كبار السن لهم خبرة في مجال الحديث والميعاد. أكبر واحد في الوفد هوا اللي يتكلم ثم يعين اللي يتكلم بعده.

Elderly people are respected and they know how to talk. They have experience in talk and its style. Every ceremony, funeral or wedding, has its special kind of speech... elderly people have the experience in such speech and congregations. The eldest person in the meeting starts the speech and elects who should speak after him.

Furthermore, elderly interactants exchange conversation's turn-taking equally. Therefore, each elderly interactant would be reluctant to monopolise the utterances or prematurely skip from one topic to another. The three elderly/elderly conversations recorded for this research show that elderly interactants (subjects) converse concisely and reasonably. The turns are also interchangeable between those elderly interlocutors (see extracts EB1, p.134; and EA1, 2, pp.128-9). Fluency can also characterise elderly/elderly conversations. They flow from topic to topic in a smooth way. It can be suggested that elderly interactants address each other in a spontaneous, responsive, prompt and accurate fashion (see extracts EA1, 2, pp.128-9 and EB 2, 3 above).

8.3.4. Style and Structure

as we have seen elderly fathers in Sebha who meet to discuss social, tribal, and economical issues that concern their life, often support their statements with past experiences, poetry and religious sermons. They stated that this involvement of theirs in familial, tribal and social events and conferences requires well-structured speeches. Performing social activities such as engagement and wedding negotiations, mediation, and compromises urges elderly interactants to be selective in their wording. Elderly subjects insisted that including verses from the Koran, poetry and proverbs could make their speech more attractive and convincing to other elderly addressees. In extract EB3 above, elderly1 borrowed a verse from a poem to convince his elderly friends that he would not like to receive any lessons from them on account of his advanced age.

In addition, elderly/elderly interaction can be characterised as pejorative and argumentative. In extract EB1 (p.134, lines 3, 4), elderly1 is certainly not giving out compliments in refusing lessons from his interlocutors. Moreover, the three elderly

interactants in extracts EA1 and EA2 (pp.128-9) exhibited no conversational accommodation with each other. Rather, they kept quarrelling and verbally challenging each other.

8.4. Elderly Interaction with Healthcare Providers

8.4.1. Introduction

This section discusses the features and characteristics that could be identified in elderly/physician institutional interactions. Semi-structured interviews with 3 elderly patients and 3 physician, and 3 tape-recorded institutional conversations between them supplied the data for this section.

8.4.2. Raisable Topics

Elderly patients and younger physicians insisted that they could not be detached from their social and cultural values even when they communicate and interact in an institutional setting and for formal and medical purposes. Extract IA3 below shows that both the younger physician and his elderly patient could not produce even a colloquial word for the physiological organ that the whole setting is concerned about for this patient who has had an operation. The physician, in the first two arrowed lines, employed the pronoun 'you' instead of the real word for the organ (your rectum). The younger physician has taken into consideration the social status of his elderly addressee, and therefore he has socialised the setting rather than institutionalised it. It could also be argued that the physician may go further and personalise the setting as he could neither name that organ nor find any other name to substitute for it. Taking the physician's diagnostic question 'is there any blood coming out of you?' out of its institutional context, one might have thought that the blood is coming out of the

patient's mouth (vomiting) or ear or nose. On the other hand, the elderly patient substituted the physiological name of that organ with a metaphorical functional name (drain) which can be socially more raisable (see the underlined word in the last arrowed line of extracts IA3 and IYP1 below).

(Extract IA3)

- Physician: فيه دم يمشي معاك؟
is there any blood coming out of you?
- Patient: اه؟
what?
- Physician: فيه دم يمشي معاك؟
is there any blood coming out from you?
- Patient: لا ه
no
- Physician: اه
so?
- Patient: دم الا بعد ظهر تقريبا المجمع إمتاعي لابد تقريبا قعد إيجي عشرة والا طناشر يوم
ما عاش رجع
blood, the e when the blood came out, approximately, in my
drain I think it lasted approximately for about ten to twelve
days, and it never came again.

(Extract IYP1)

- Interviewer: هل تغير في أسماء الأعضاء والأمراض؟
Do you interpret the names of organs and diseases?
- YP: إيه إيه هو يقول عندي حاجة تخرج مني في الحمام. هو يقول من المخرج ما يفولش من فتحة
الشرح

Yeah yeah, he [the elderly patient] says I have something coming out from in the toilet. He uses the word exit instead of rectum

8.4.3. Verbosity, Talkativeness and Fluency

Elderly patients and younger physicians (informants) declared that they could not be detached from their social values and perception of each other despite their interaction taking place in a hospital setting. Hence, younger physicians insisted that when talking to an elderly patient they should pay more attention to what they are uttering and be more patient with them. Younger physician informant YP1 asserted that he could not perform overlapping or interruption with his elderly patients. On the other hand, elderly patient informant EP1 suggested that institutional settings (e.g. physician/patient) do not make any difference as long as the physician is a Libyan. He added that ‘I know my value as an elderly person to that younger Libyan physician, there is nowhere we could disregard our social and religious values’. Another elderly patient EP2 assumed that if the physician were a foreigner (i.e. Western), the discourse might have been totally different. For example, an elderly patient would not need to ask the foreign doctor ‘where are you from or where do you live, what’s your tribe?’ Different topics would be raised with a Libyan. Moreover, elderly patients can share their cultural proverbs and religious (Islamic) expressions and prayers when discoursing with a fellow countryman (see extract IA1, p.136; IA2, p.139, and extract IB1, p.137).

Nonetheless, it can be argued that in extract IA1 (p.136), the elderly patient EP2 has lengthened his responses to his younger physician’s two queries (‘yes, what you feel exactly?’ and ‘whereabouts, whereabouts did the rashes appear? All over your body?’ It can be noticed that the elderly patient EP2 has elaborated his responses (see the

arrowed lines). In the second arrowed line, the first word 'all' satisfies the physician's query 'whereabouts, whereabouts did the rashes appear? All over your body?' Though the rest of EP2's statement 'I went to Tripoli, I went to Tunis, I went, I hadn't left a place [unvisited], and here, and all, but thank God who saved me, (...) they appeared very little on my face, here, very tiny spots here' is relevant to his rashes; the statement was irrelevant to the physician's question. However, it might be argued that such long-worded statements could be seen as attempts by the elderly patient to create a social environment with his younger physician. EP2 was successful in the rest of the conversation to socialise the setting as well as the discourse with his younger physician.

Finally, elderly patients (informants) showed fluency in exchanging talk with younger physicians. Elderly patient EP1 introduced his complaint well to the surgeon who amputated his toe (see extract IB1, p.137). Similarly, elderly patient EP2 has confidently and smoothly involved his younger physician YP2 into a more socially meaningful conversation (see appendix, pp.222-224).

8.4.4. Style and Structure

It seems that the elderly patients (subjects) still adopt a wording style and structure in their institutional settings that is similar to what is used in their familial and social settings. Life experiences, axioms and religious utterances were all present in the elderly patient/younger physician naturally-occurring conversations of this research. For example, the elderly patient EP1 borrowed an axiom ('ولادته قماطنه' the baby's midwife should be the person who swaddle him) to support his claims against the surgeon (see extract IB2 below).

(Extract IB2)

Patient: قتلّا إنت غير تقطع كراعي وتمشي، كيف؟ (.....) لكن مااا يجي، يشبح كراعا
ويجي يشبح الأمر هو اللي داير للا عملية إحني انقولو ولادته قماطته
I told him you just amputated my toe and went away. How?
(....) but how come, he should've looked after my foot, and
come to see what the matter is, he is the one who did the
operation, we say his [a Baby] midwife should be the person
who swaddles him.

The elderly patient EP2 used a religious expression to describe his recovery from the rashes he suffered from 'حفظها علي حفظة شهود (....) جاتني شوية هنا طشيشا في وجهي اهي هنا' (but thank God who saved me (....) it appeared very little in my face, here very tiny spots here). EP2 and his younger physician YP2 used a social rather than an institutional style of referring to each other. EP2 called his physician 'يا ولدي' (oh son), and the physician YP2 called his elderly patient as 'يا حاج' (oh Hajji). It can be concluded that the elderly patients and their younger physician adopt a rhetorical structure and style that mostly reflect their social status and perception of each other rather than their institutional ones (see extracts IA1, p.136 and IC1, p.140, and IEP1 below).

(Extract IEP1)

Interviewer: كم عمرك يا حاج؟

How old are you, hajj?

EP: أني عمري ثمانين الحمد لله

My age is eighty thank Allah

Interviewer: كيف ينادوك الممرضات والممرضين؟

How do the male and female nurses call for you?

EP: ينادوني يا عمي الحاج

The call me oh uncle hajj

8.5. Familial and Societal Role of the Elderly

Elderly fathers (subjects) announced that the elderly in Sebha have a significant familial and social role. The elderly father of a family would have to decide and/or endorse any resolutions that concern the family. Younger sons (subjects) acknowledged that fathers should be involved in all family issues, starting from what was to be eaten for dinner to-day to when and who their sons should marry. All the family should wait for the father to have their food together. Moreover, sons cannot travel or be involved in any business without the permission of the father. Younger son SF was adamant that disobeying his father's wishes would lead to unpleasantness and anger. Allah's blessing is connected with the father's. Therefore, younger sons in Sebha families would do their best to obtain their father's blessing and agreement for any step they take. Elderly father BF stated that no family would accept having a son-in-law who had disregarded getting his father's blessing and carrying out his wishes. Such a marriage would not be successful, as the rest of that family would side with the father's desire to boycott the wedding and not accept the bride as a daughter-in-law. Similarly, when a family's daughter wants to get engaged and married, the father's agreement is an absolute requirement.

Broadly speaking, the elderly father plays significant role that can be extended to the tribal and societal level. Elderly people should lead social events such as engagements, weddings and funerals. Elderly subject CF stated that sending younger men to engagements and weddings would be considered by the other party as an insult. In

contrast, sending elderly men on such missions is regarded as highly respectful of the other party who would feel more inclined to respond positively to the elderly envoys' demands. Elderly people can also play a considerable role in familial and tribal compromises. Any treaty that would be reached by elderly compromisers is legalised, effective and valid, as courts in Libya acknowledge such social compromises (see Al-Kernawi and Graham, 2003; and the appendix, pp.237-252). Elderly and younger subjects suggested that society benefits from the great resources of experience and wisdom which the elderly possess.

8.6. Summary and Conclusion of the Chapter

This chapter has explored data provided by semi-structured interviews of 6 elderly fathers and 6 of their younger sons, 3 elderly patients and 3 of their younger physicians. Extracts from the naturally-occurring conversations of the interviewees were cited for supplementary purposes. Responses revealed that there are limitations on the topics that could be raised between an elderly father and his younger son. Economical and financial issues could be and have to be raised directly between elderly fathers and their younger sons. Respondents still insisted on the role of a mediator (chiefly the mother) when the topic was engagement, marriage or trouble between the son and his wife. The raisability of sexual and romantic issues is forbidden amongst elderly fathers and their younger sons.

Elderly interactants exhibited on-target verbosity in all the conversations' time-span they occupied. They also showed meaningful and concise language. Their language included past experiences, advice and religious expressions. The style and structure of elderly fathers' conversations with their younger sons exhibited the former's social status. Giving advice and teaching from their own personal experiences to younger

sons are core roles of elderly fathers as family leaders. The advice they give and decisions they reach are obligatory to all family members. Hence, the linguistic wording of advice and decisions should be convincing, comprehensive and comprehensible. By contrast, elderly/elderly conversations can include sexual and romantic topic, e.g. poetry. Similarly, the language the elderly use should be well structured, and their verbosity should be on-target. Otherwise, they would not be spokesmen, which are required in social arguments, negotiations, and compromises. Attractive speech and evidence of rhetoric are required in establishing familial and tribal conciliations and arbitrations.

Elderly patients and younger physicians' conversations seemed to carry the social and cultural values of the interactants rather than institutional values. For example, restrictions on the raisability of sex-related topics were still valid. Moreover, elderly patients and their younger physicians included in their conversations with each other utterances and styles that led to socialising and personalising their settings rather than institutionalising them. For example, elderly patients and younger physicians labelled each other socially (son/hajji) rather than institutionally (doctor/sir). In addition, elderly patients emphasise their social status by including cultural and religious axioms in their conversations. Both interactants were gladly involved in social and personal conversations, which further socialising their settings.

Finally, elderly and younger respondents have asserted their significant familial and social roles. They have insisted that elderly fathers are the backbone of the family, the tribe's leaders and negotiators, and the advisers and mediators within their society.

9. Chapter Nine: Findings and Discussion

9.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings that emerged from the previous three chapters of analysis. The findings will be discussed in relation to the literature and to each other for the purpose of increasing their validity and reliability. The findings can be classified into three types: (1) sociological: displaying the familial and social issues concerning the elderly in Sebha (Libya); (2) linguistic: introducing the conversational and communicational features of elderly discourse; and (3) sociolinguistic: uncovering the correlation between the social status of the elderly (sociology) and the way they interact and communicate in a society (linguistic).

9.2. Overview

The research investigates the social construction of the elderly in Libya, and how the status of the elderly is co-constructed through interactions and communications between elderly fathers and younger sons, elderly peers, and healthcare providers and elderly patients. The research has employed non-participant observation, structured and semi-structured interviews and audiotape recording methods for collecting data. CA complemented by the social constructionist approach has been implemented as method of data analysis. The data have been analysed in three supplementary and correlated chapters (6, 7, and 8). The analysis has revealed the social and familial relationship and perception between elderly fathers and their younger sons, and how such relationships and perceptions are co-constructed in elderly father/younger son everyday conversations. The analysis has traced perception, communication and discourse in three different settings involving the elderly (with younger sons, elderly peers, and with healthcare providers).

9.3. Discussion of the Findings

9.3.1. Familial and Social Status of the Elderly in Sebha (Libya)

9.3.1.1. Introduction

This subsection discusses findings regarding the familial and social position and role of the elderly in Sebha. The conclusions are drawn from the data analysis of the familial and social parts investigated in the structured interviews (see Chapter 6) and the semi-structured interviews (see Chapter 8). In addition, the subsection discusses findings on how elderly fathers, younger sons and elderly peers perceive each other in their social settings. It also comments on findings on how elderly fathers admitted to hospitals are institutionally perceived by their younger physicians.

9.3.1.2. Activation and Deactivation Processes in Interaction and Communication of the Elderly

Activation and deactivation processes are concerned with how much familial and social role, value and activity are offered to the elderly in society. Identifying the extent of activities and roles of the elderly can lead to the recognition of how much they are activated (having significant roles and status) or deactivated (being roleless and marginalised) in their societies, and subsequently, how much opportunity they could have to interact and communicate in society (Mayouf, 2004; Mayouf and Li Wei, 2004).

Analysis of the structured interviews employed in this research shows Libyan families in Sebha consist of large numbers (5-14) who live together in the father's house. Offspring in Sebha families (as well as in most Libyan, Arab and Muslim families) do not leave the father's house, until marriage or death. Yet, when the family's son is married he usually lives in his father's house or in a house that is close to it. Most of

the time, sons are allowed by their fathers to build accommodation onto their house. Therefore, elderly fathers and their married sons would be able to have a meal together more than once a week. Despite their sufficient finance and mature age (18+), the 8 unmarried younger son respondents (employed in the structured interviews) still live in their parents' house. Similarly, the 6 elderly fathers employed in the semi-structured interviews live in extended families (11-15 sons and daughters).

It can be postulated that living in extended families would provide elderly fathers in Sebha with better chances of interaction and communication. An elderly father of 5 sons (out of 9 offspring, for instance) with an average age gap between the eldest son and the youngest son of approximately 5-20 years, would have a greater opportunity (in both quality and quantity) to converse with younger sons in their 20s or 30s. In contrast, elderly fathers who lived in small families (4-) would suffer from a lack of interaction and communication with younger offspring. What may double such lack of interaction and communication would be the departure of those younger offspring from their parents' house. The World Health Organisation (WHO) reports that 'loss of friends and family members reduces the opportunities for social interaction' (Krug et al., 2002:131).

Broadly speaking, the analysis shows that the elderly fathers in Sebha also occupy a societal role in addition to their familial one. The overwhelming majority of elderly respondents announced that they promptly and obligatorily attend social events (e.g., engagements, weddings, funerals, etc.) as part of their societal duties. Elderly respondents insisted that they attend these as representatives of their families and tribes. In contrast, younger sons (respondents) acknowledged that they attend similar events but only represent themselves. That should show the significant status and role held by the elderly in Sebha, Libya. It also indicates the frequent engagement of the

elderly in familial and societal activities that keep them in constant interaction and communication with younger sons in the family and elderly peers in their society. Such activities and posts encourage the elderly to acquire a discoursal style and structure that suit their roles as family leaders, decision makers, societal commissioners, negotiators and compromisers.

Therefore, the language of the elderly in Sebha cannot be characterised by talkativeness, verbosity, and/or secondary BT (e.g. simple vocabulary, simplified grammar, increased repetition, kind words, etc.) that the literature mostly associates with elderly language and discourse (see Caporael, 1981; Caporael et al., 1983; Coupland, Coupland, and Giles, 1991 among others). Rather, elderly language and discourse in Sebha can be characterised by complicated sentences and grammar, conciseness, precision, and being rich in proverbs, poetry, religious extracts and expressions, and axioms. Otherwise, the elderly in Sebha would have not been involved in the familial and societal activities mentioned above, but isolated and disintegrated in the family and society. It is also noteworthy that acceptance by Libyan social (family, tribe) and legal (police stations, prosecution offices and courts) institutions of any compromises and treaties that can be reached by the elderly of families or tribes enhances the role and status of the elderly in Libya (see Chapter 3).

9.3.1.3. Younger Sons' Perception of their Elderly Fathers

It can be postulated that younger sons in Sebha recognise the social and economic value of their elderly fathers. The younger sons employed in the semi-structured interviews insisted that their elderly fathers were the backbone of the family and that the family would not survive without them. Furthermore, younger sons, through satisfying their elderly fathers' wishes and by praying for them, can attain Allah's

blessing (see also Abbadi, 1976). Younger sons also acknowledged the economic role their elderly fathers have played since their birth. Fathers in Libya do not get much money as child benefit (around 15 LD= £6 a month). However, they are content to pay for bringing up a number of children until maturity. Fathers understand that they are responsible before Allah and society for bringing up their children until they become mature. The younger sons too understand that it is a religious and social responsibility for them to care and pay for their elderly fathers until their death. In fact, even after the father's death, many younger sons keep donating to charities from their own money for their fathers' spirits. Therefore, the elderly father/younger son's financial relationship seems to depend on social and cultural values rather than politically constructed ones.

Moreover, the analysis reveals that younger sons in Sebha perceive their elderly fathers as the reason for their existence and the guides who will lead them to success and pride. For that reason most Arab, Muslim and Bedouin, sons insist on naming their eldest son or any one of their sons after their fathers. Younger sons perceive their elderly fathers as a wealth of wisdom gained through life experience and as faithful advisers, and absolutely trustworthy leaders. Therefore, everything an elderly father might do to or for his younger son would be received by them as being in his interest, either for the present or in the future.

9.3.1.4. Elderly Fathers' Perception of their Younger Sons, Elderly Peers and Healthcare Providers

The analysis reveals that elderly fathers consider their younger sons as typical successors for them. Hence, they teach them from childhood to respect anyone older in the family and society in general. Al-Zuwyy (1991) argues that the Bedouin child

grows up and is educated with traditions that encourage him to obey and respect the elderly (P.45). Elderly fathers perceive their younger sons as a branch that could not be detached from its trunk; otherwise it will deteriorate and die. Elderly fathers insist that their younger sons belong to them completely, and consequently they have the right to decide for them and direct them to what they and the traditions see as the righteous way. Unlike other societies, e.g. Western, elderly fathers in Libya still claim their younger sons belong to them, whatever the child's age (18+) or marital status (single/ married). Moreover, it can be concluded that such a perception of their younger sons by elderly fathers, as well as the younger sons' perception of their elderly fathers, are not influenced by the level of education, health, and/or wealth of each of them. Rather, such perceptions are socially, traditionally and religiously co-constructed by these actors.

Elderly fathers perceive themselves as the base that the family is built on. Everyone in the family is cemented in this base and lie on it. They also act as the strong links that bring families and tribes together and establish relationships and alliances. In addition, it can be suggested that without this active social role that the elderly play in Libyan society, there would have been countless never-ending quarrels among families and tribes, and even among brothers. Therefore, the elderly in Libya are very proud of their elderliness and the positive contributions they can make to their society.

Finally, elderly fathers seem to carry with them their social values and status even when they are in institutional interactions. The research found that younger Libyan physicians (subjects) are perceived by their elderly patients as if were their biological sons. They do not consider them strangers. Rather, they regard them as the fruit of their elderly peers' struggles and labours. Moreover, elderly patients seek to involve their young doctors in any familial and tribal kinship that might connect them.

Sometimes, they look for any geographical relationship, or any other link to their younger physicians.

9.3.1.5. Healthcare Providers' Perception of the Elderly

The analysis of semi-structured interviews provided by younger physician subjects revealed that they do not differ very much from younger sons in the way they perceive their elderly patients. Elderly patients are conceived as kinsmen rather than clients. Therefore, younger sons categorise themselves, and subsequently act socially (younger/old and son/father) rather than institutionally (physician/patients). It can be suggested that despite the institutional power occupied by physicians and nurses over their elderly patients (see Nussbaum and Coupland, 1995), such power seems to be redundant in the case of elderly patients/younger physicians in Sebha, Libya.

9.3.2. Conversational and Communicational Characteristics of Elderly Discourse

9.3.2.1. Introduction

This section discusses findings on the features that may characterise the communication and discourse of the elderly with younger sons, elderly peers and healthcare providers. These findings are acquired from the analyses of the second part of the structured interviews: linguistic and interactional features, the naturally-occurring conversations, and the semi-structured interviews applied to the research's respondents. The findings in this section discusses how elderly fathers converse with their younger sons, elderly peers, and healthcare providers.

9.3.2.2. Conversations with Younger Sons

The analyses of the structured and semi-structured interviews administered to elderly and younger respondents show that elderly fathers summon their sons by their names.

They do not use gestures, e.g. *ya ho, ya walad* (oh boy). On the other hand, younger sons insist that they call their fathers by their position '*bati*' (father), and not using their names. More interestingly, the analyses conclude that the raisability of topics between elderly fathers and their younger sons depends on their types. It has been shown that there are 5 levels of raisability that topics fall into: (1) could be raised via a mediator; (2) could be raised indirectly; (3) could be raised directly; (4) could not be raised at all; and (5) have to be raised directly. The first category (could be raised via a mediator) includes topics such as the son's desire to get engaged and/or married. Younger sons can also raise any troubles they might have with their wives to their elderly fathers via a mediator, who is mainly the mother. Issues on the son's fertility problems are also raisable by elderly fathers with their younger sons via their mothers (mediator). However, from the sons' viewpoint, issues concerning their fertility could not be raised at all by them with their elderly fathers.

Furthermore, elderly fathers and younger sons in Sebha could not raise with each other any topics related to having girlfriends or affairs, which are forbidden in Islam, or any other romantic and sexual issues. This finding may seem extremely strange to some societies, where son and daughter often openly invite their girlfriend or boyfriend to their parents' house, and introduce them to their parents. Elderly fathers and younger sons could not discuss issues any regarding the fathers' fertility problems, contraception, and any physical or psychological problems any of them might have had. Interestingly, elderly and younger respondents state that could not listen to music, songs, poems, and/or watch movies at all when they are together.

Elderly fathers in Libya insist that they could directly or indirectly raise economic and financial issues, i.e. having debts, lending, making purchasing and selling transactions, with their younger sons. In comparison, it has been seen that younger sons have to

raise these issues with their elderly fathers. Both elderly fathers and younger sons in Libyan society in Sebha insisted the necessity (have to be raised) of discussing with each other issues that concern beginning a new job or business, or giving up existing ones.

The analyses show that elderly fathers in Libya place their requests to their younger sons in three styles: (1) order (mostly used), e.g. 'drink some apple juice', 'don't touch this metal surface'; (2) order then explain (fairly often used), e.g. 'drink some apple juice, it is good for you', 'don't touch this metal surface, it is very hot'; and (3) explain then order (fairly often used), e.g. 'it is good for you, drink apple juice', 'it is very hot don't touch this metal surface'. Explain then ask style, e.g. 'apple juice is good for you, *would* you drink it?', 'this metal surface is very hot, *could* you not touch it?', is hardly ever used by elderly fathers to address younger sons. Nonetheless, elderly fathers prefer to apply 'order' style when asking their younger sons to serve them, e.g. bringing a glass of water, giving them a lift by car, etc. On the other hand, younger sons in Libyan society address their elderly fathers with 'explain then ask' style when they present their requests, e.g. 'my friends have invited me to a trip, could I join them?'.

It was also discovered that elderly fathers can often verbally reject what their younger sons might ask for. Elderly fathers' verbal rejection uses different strategies: (1) strongly and directly, e.g. *laa* 'no'; (2) soft and indirectly (with excuses), e.g. 'that doesn't suit us'. Interestingly, the analyses unveiled that younger sons hardly ever address their elderly fathers with verbal rejections 'no'. In fact, that does not mean they would do whatever their fathers ask. Some younger sons may employ phrases that showing unwillingness to do what their elderly fathers have requested, e.g. 'ok, if God wills'. Concerning producing verbal agreement, the findings show that elderly

fathers produce their agreement to their younger sons' requests in a direct and clear way, e.g. 'alright', whereas, the younger sons' agreement can be described as strong, direct, and enthusiastic, e.g. 'alright, ok'. Some agreements by both interlocutors may be uttered in a cautious style, e.g. 'do what you see'. It can be postulated that the contexts where such agreements are produced show that the elderly fathers agreements can be interpreted as agreement, endorsement and/or giving permission, whereas the younger sons' agreements' can be seen as acceptance. Look at these two created examples:

(1)

Younger son: can I have a nap?

Elderly father: alright

(2)

Elderly father: can I have a nap?

Younger son: alright, ok

The first example shows that the elderly father is giving an agreement (permission) to his son to have a nap, i.e. I don't need you for the moment so you can go for a rest. In contrast, the second example illustrates that the younger is accepting that his elderly father need to take a nap, i.e. I should go and leave him to rest. The extracts do not include any raising of voice by younger sons, who express their disagreement attitudes in mitigated styles. As mentioned above, younger sons cannot verbally disagree with and reject their fathers' offers. On the other hand, it was revealed that elderly fathers utter their refusals to requests or proposals in a bald, unmitigated style (see extracts C4, 5, 6, and 7 in Chapter 7).

It can be stated that the analyses of the elderly fathers/younger sons audiotape recordings provide further evidence for these findings. The transcribed extracts show

the raisability of social, economical and financial issues between elderly fathers and their younger sons (see extracts B1, 2, 3; and A3 in Chapter 7). Moreover, other extracts (A1, 2; and B1, 2 in Chapter 7) demonstrate that elderly fathers repeatedly seize their turn by producing considerable overlap or interruption. Younger sons always prematurely cede their turn (not following the norms) to allow their elderly fathers to speak. Consequently, younger sons do not involve themselves in overlap or interruption when conversing with their elderly fathers. It also found out that elderly fathers tend to employ the least preferable repair strategy (other-initiated other-repair), whereas younger sons seem to adopt the most preferable strategy (self-initiated, self-repair, and sometimes, other-repair) (see extracts D1; E1, 2; and F1 in Chapter 7). In addition, the analyses uncovered that elderly fathers dominate (time-span) the conversations with their younger sons (for an example, see appendix, p.209-218). It can be argued that this feature of elderly father/younger son discourse (time-span domination of talk) may not be described as talkativeness or verbosity. The extracts reveal that elderly fathers' statements are mostly centre on their own experience, religious narratives, advisory or meaningful utterances. Despite the advanced age of some elderly interactants, their narrating of stories and exchanging of talk were noticeably fluent (see extract D1, p.113).

9.3.2.3. Conversations with Elderly Peers

The analyses of elderly/elderly discourse reveal that elderly peers have no restrictions on the issues that could be raised with each other. The transcribed extracts of elderly peers' conversations include raising of romantic issues and recitation of romantic poetry (see extracts EB2 and EB3, pp.155-6). Elderly/elderly discourse can also include personal experiences, axioms and religious expressions. Elderly interactants

take turns and move from topic to topic in a fluent, connective way. Moreover, the time-span manipulation of conversation can be seen to be equally divided between elderly interactants. The extracts reveal that elderly interactants frequently and equally perform considerable overlaps and interruptions when conversing with each other. Quarrelling and raising voices can also be identified in elderly peers' conversations (see extracts EA1 and EA2, pp.128-9). The analyses show that elderly interactants produce verbal refusals to each other's offer and invitation in a bald, unmitigated style (see extracts EA1, p.128; EB3, p.156). Repair seems to be performed in a similar style. It is found that elderly peers address each other with the least preferable repair strategy (other-initiated other-repair).

9.3.2.4. Conversations with Healthcare Providers

The analyses show that elderly patients interact with their younger physicians in a way similar to their interaction with their younger sons. Restrictions on certain topics, e.g. sexual, still apply in such institutional conversations. Younger Libyan physicians also recognise such restrictions and interact accordingly. In extract IA3 (p.160), the younger physician YP2 avoided producing the medical or colloquial term for the organ (rectum) from which the patient was bleeding. The elderly patient, on the other hand, substitutes this real term with a functional one (drain or back passage). Moreover, the institutional effects on the elderly patient/younger physician discourse can only be seen in the diagnostic procedures when the physician asks about the symptoms, and the patient answers him. Turn-taking is well organised during such procedures. Similarly, interruption and overlap hardly occurred at all.

The interesting find here is that the elderly patients as well as their younger physicians seem to be ready to socialise their institutional settings rather than keeping them

institutionalised. The elderly patient EP1 recited a traditional verbsay to support his claims against another physician who amputated his big toe (see extract IB1, p.137). In addition, elderly patient EP2 addressed his physician with purely social questions unrelated to his illness, i.e. 'are you from Sebha, son?'. The younger physician YP2, in extract IA2 (p.139), was easily involved in a social interaction with his elderly patient. Thus we see that elderly patients' discourse includes structure and style similar to that found in elderly father/younger son. Adopting religious expressions, relating personal experiences, and citing traditional axioms can also be identified in elderly patient/younger physician discourse (see extracts IA1, p.136; IA2, p.139; and IB1, p.137).

9.3.3. Correlations of Familial and Social Status of the Elderly to their Interaction and Discourse

9.3.3.1. Introduction

This section presents findings on the relationships between the perception of the elderly in society and the way they interact and communicate. The findings explain why elderly fathers, younger sons, elderly peers and healthcare providers interact in such ways, and subsequently co-construct each other through the interactional conversations they perform with each other. Moreover, the findings elaborate how these social actors reflexively, spontaneously and reciprocally employ their social values and status when talking with each other. Finally, the findings of this section can map the interchangeable relationship between the perception of the elderly in Libya (Sebha) and the communication and discourse they have with their younger sons, elderly peers and healthcare providers, where the image of the elderly in Libya is being constructed.

9.3.3.2. In Younger Sons' Cases

As mentioned above, elderly fathers in Sebha always perceive their younger sons as always dependent, regardless of age, marital status, education level, and/or financial income. Younger sons are considered dependent on their elderly father's good (or even bad) reputation, name and social position. For example, the first thing that a fiancé will be asked about is who her father is. Al-Tir (1992) states that in the Libyan family 'the father is still the source of power, commandment, and interdiction... and for the great majority, the fathers still have the first and the last word even in choosing who should be the partner of his son or his daughter' (p.102). Moreover, as elderly fathers consider themselves the resource of life experience, wisdom and blessing, such a role and power may explain why they 'order' their younger sons rather than ask or request them. Their role as trustful advisors and consultants encourages them to address their younger sons with axioms, religious sermons and lengthy speech. Elderly fathers' performance of overlap and interruption to seize their turns, when interacting with their younger sons, can be rationalised by the priorities they occupy over their younger sons (see Abbadi, 1976). Saville-Troike (2003:256) suggests that 'the social bases of power are culture-specific... [And] linguistic signs of power correlate with social values, organisation and stratification in the society'. She lists features that can be adopted to characterise elderly father/younger son interactions in relation to the elderly's social and familial power:

'A person with less power [younger son] in an asymmetrical relationship does not give orders to a person with more [elderly father], and a person with more power does not beg... Speech acts may also be strongly constrained by relative power: who performs apologies, who grants permissions, who offers advice or excuses, and who is entitled to compliment whom about what.... Signs of power at the level of discourse organisation include: authority to allocate turns as talk, to interrupt, to determine topic continuation or switch' (Saville-Troike, 2003:258-9).

Furthermore, elderly fathers' familial role and power (e.g. conciliation of familial conflicts, making decisions), may lead them to be resolute and decisive. Therefore, when elderly fathers are offered unwelcome suggestions by their younger sons, they refuse in bald and unmitigated utterances. For the same reason, elderly fathers may prefer to employ the least preferable repair strategy (other-initiated other-repair) when conversing with their younger sons (see Al-Zuwyy, 1991). Elderly fathers' familial status and power allow them to intervene in their younger sons' financial and economical issues. On the other hand, the younger sons have great faith in their father's blessing and his experience and wisdom encourages them to involve him in these issues.

It can be postulated that a younger son's perception of his elderly father as the family backbone, dignity and proud ancestor leads him to accept a father's role and power over him. Hence, younger sons interact and communicate with their elderly fathers in a way that reflects and acknowledges such a role and power. Listening willingly with no interruptions and/or overlap when conversing with your elderly father is how a righteous son in Libyan society in Sebha behaves. On the other hand, younger sons who argue with, interrupt and/or overlap their elderly fathers are considered in Muslim/Bedouin societies as badly behaved and disobedient. Abbadi (1976) asserts that 'the point is that the Bedouin is afraid of what others may talk about or accuse him of. The son who insults his parents or is undutiful to them, he will be victimised with horrible and extremely infuriating accusations, so society will call him the son of a whore whose mother brought him into the world by fornication, and he is not a lawful son of that father he disobeyed' (pp.400-1). Such a description could apply equally to the elderly and younger respondents' judgements and comments on

younger sons who overlap, interrupt, raise their voice, talk more than listen and raise sexual topics when conversing with their elderly fathers (see table 6.4, p.99).

Abbadi (1976:396) has given another reason that leads Bedouin sons to interact and communicate with their elderly fathers in what they believe to be a respectful way. He suggests that 'the Bedouin son's belief that whoever disobeys his parents, his son will disobey him later on (you make your bed and lie on it)'. Thus, the younger son respondents in this study wished to keep social and interactional relationship with their sons in the future similar to those they have with their elderly fathers. It could also be argued that Islam dictates the principles that organise elderly father/younger son communication and discourse. Muslim sons believe that Allah's satisfaction, blessing, and heaven can only be obtained through their parents' satisfaction with them in this world.

9.3.3.3. In Elderly Peers' Cases

The significant societal role occupied by the elderly in Libya enables them to actively interact and communicate beyond their familial contexts. Social events and social compromises cannot be established or be successful without being organised and participated in by the elderly. Compromises within tribes in Libya have to be reached by the elderly; otherwise they may be fragile and not obligatory. The elderly in Libya are well aware of the social and tribal conventions in this respect. More importantly, the state (police stations, courts and magistrates) does recognise and validate any treaties reached by the elderly. In fact, sometimes these authorities call for the elderly of a certain tribe to calm down any conflicts between two other tribes and make *sulh* (settlement) between them (Al-Kernawi and Graham, 2003). The situation is analogous with the Libyans (see appendix, p.237-252).

Accordingly, one could ask, what should be the language of elderly men involved in such societal missions and responsibilities? Should those elderly speak or be spoken to in baby talk (BT) language (see section 2.3.2.2.1), or should they address and be addressed with a language that suits their privilege and status as skilful speakers and interlocutors? The positions held by the elderly in Libya have made them selective in what they say and when they say it. Moreover, they include experiences, axioms, poetry, and religious expressions to support and reference their speech. Finally, establishing social and tribal conventions requires the elderly in Libya to be knowledgeable, decisive, eloquent and persuasive.

9.3.3.4. In Healthcare Providers' Cases

Elderly patients' perception of their younger physicians does not very much differ from their perception of their younger sons or relatives. Similarly, younger physicians perceive their elderly clients in their social context rather than an institutional one. The Bedouin in Sebha, Libya live in groups and have tied kinship. If you know a person in a family or tribe, it gives you access to and commitment towards all other individuals in that family or tribe. Al-Zuwyy (1991) states that 'the social restraint in Bedouin and rural societies is an *interior restraint system* (face-to-face). Every individual in that social organisation is known by face, and hence the fear of gossip plays a major role in strengthening and concreting such social restraints' (p.46).

Accordingly, the elderly patient EP2's question to his younger physician YP2 '*do you know Al-Jezawi?*', and the physician's reply '*yes, I know him*' emphasises this kind of interior face-to-face social restraint which has been put on the younger physician, and subsequently, turned the setting into a social one (elderly/younger) rather than an institutional one (patient/doctor). After that, the younger physician should act and

interact more carefully with his elderly patient, taking into consideration the patient's kinship to 'Al- Jezawi (the doctor's friend). The elderly patient went further when he asked his physician '*where are you from, son?*'. Once the physician has replied '*I am from Sebha*', the patient saying '*I know Sebha, I was living in Sebha*', puts more social restraints on him. Now, after this social interaction, the younger doctor may consider that if his elderly patient felt he had not done all he should for him, he (the patient) might spread news about it in Sebha and say that 'Doctor Z from family Y and tribe W and lives in Sebha, Al-Mahdeeya has not treated me correctly, or ignored me in spite of my age'. Finally, the interactants' socialising of their supposedly institutional settings can obviously be identified in their exchange of social labels (son/hajji) rather than the institutional ones (doctor/sir).

9.4. Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has discussed the findings that have emerged from the previous chapters of analysis (6, 7, and 8). The findings have been mainly categorised into three correlating sections. The first section has discussed the familial and social status and roles of the elderly in Sebha. The section has explored the familial and social activities of the elderly, and such activities are related to the younger sons, elderly peers and healthcare providers' perception of the elderly. The section has concluded that elderly people in Libya are highly activated by living in large and extended families and by occupying significant familial and social roles and status that keeps them in constant communicational and interactional contact. The second section has examined findings on the conversational and communicational characteristics of elderly discourse with younger sons, elderly peers and healthcare providers. It has concluded that the elderly in Libya assert their social status when interacting with

younger sons, elderly peers and younger physicians. They do not apply themselves to the norms and conventions of CA. Finally, section three has correlated the two previous sections to establish the notion that the social status of the elderly is co-constructed through the perception and daily discourse of elderly fathers, younger sons, elderly peers and healthcare providers. The findings have been discussed in relation to theories built on data from different societies and cultures.

10. Chapter Ten: Summary and Conclusion

10.1. Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the thesis and what motivated it. A summary is given of the research questions and the instruments of data collection and analysis that were employed to serve those questions. The chapter also summarises the subjects of this research and the procedures followed to employ them in the structured and semi-structured interviews and audiotape recordings of the thesis. The findings detailed in the previous chapter are also summarised in this chapter. Finally, the chapter illustrates the research's implications and contributions to the area of sociolinguistics and to other disciplines such as sociology, gerontology and social policy making. The chapter includes some suggestions and directions for further research.

10.2. Summary of the Study

10.2.1. Aims of the Study

The thesis aims to investigate the social status of the elderly in Libya and how it is co-constructed in the way elderly fathers interact and communicate with younger sons, elderly peers and healthcare providers. Moreover, the study intends to explore the language of the elderly within their everyday life in familial and societal settings. The research compares and contrasts the perception, communication, and discourse of the elderly in Libyan society in Sebha (Arab, Muslim, Bedouin), where the elderly occupy significant familial and societal roles and posts. Social agents and the Libyan authorities recognise the elderly's active familial and societal roles and status, whereas the elderly in other different societies can be marginalised, deactivated and disintegrated.

10.2.2. Research Questions

From the beginning, the research raised a number of questions that can be considered as guidelines. The main question was how a portrait of the elderly in Libya can be co-constructed through communication and discourse between elderly fathers, younger sons, elderly peers and younger healthcare providers. Hence, questions on how society in Sebha perceives the elderly, and what are the linguistic and interactional features of discourse involving the elderly that could demonstrate an influence of the social status of the elderly were also raised by the research. The research posed further questions: what is the position of the elderly in Sebha, and accordingly, how can the discourse of the elderly in Sebha, Libya be characterised?

10.2.3. Techniques, Subjects, Materials and Procedures

Having identified the research's aims and guideline questions, the methods of data collection that could serve those aims and questions were selected. To increase the validity and reliability of this research, the data was approached from different angles (triangulation) (structured and semi-structured interviews and audiotape recording of naturally occurring conversations). The methods of data collection were implemented to a sample of elderly fathers, younger son, elderly patients and younger physicians. CA methodology complemented by the social constructionist approach was adopted as a method of data analysis. The analysed data was complementarily introduced in three chapters: 6, 7, and 8.

10.3. Summary of the Findings

The findings show that the large size of Libyan families provides a better chance for elderly fathers to live in extended families, and hence have more familial integration,

interaction and activation. In contrast, elderly fathers who live in nuclear families, e.g. in the West, could face familial and societal disintegration, interactional isolation, and deactivation. The findings also reveal that elderly fathers in Libya are perceived by their younger sons as the family's backbone, main breadwinner, successful leader, trustful advisor and eligible decision maker. Moreover, younger sons consider obeying and respecting their elderly fathers as important part of their deeds towards God (Allah). On the other hand, elderly fathers perceive their younger sons as always dependent on them regardless of their (both fathers' and sons') health, wealth and literacy. The elderly fathers' reputation and status in family and society socially influence younger sons regardless of age and marital status. Elderly fathers in Libya still hold parental power over their younger sons.

The analyses of the elderly father/younger son conversations reveal that elderly fathers talk more (time-span) than their younger sons. They also perform considerable overlap and interruption to seize their turns, which they consider very acceptable. Elderly fathers address their younger sons with the least preferable repair strategy (other-initiated other-repair), and categorically refuse requests from their sons in bald and unmitigated utterances. Moreover, they prefer to adopt 'order' and/or 'order then explain' tactics. On the other hand, the research found out those younger sons very rarely overlap, interrupt or raise their voices when conversing with their elderly fathers. Furthermore, they could not produce verbal rejections to their elderly fathers' demands. To repair their elderly fathers, younger sons tended to adopt the most preferable repair strategy (other-initiate other-repair).

Interestingly, sexual and romantic issues could not be raised between elderly fathers in Libya and their younger sons. They could not talk at all about girlfriends, fertility, contraceptives, etc. Music, songs, poetry and movies cannot be played when an

elderly father confers with his younger sons. Issues like the sons' demand to get engaged or married should be raised with the elderly fathers via a mediator (chiefly the mother). Elderly fathers could directly and/or indirectly discuss financial and economic issues with their younger sons, whereas younger sons have to directly involve their elderly fathers in their financial and economic issues.

By contrast, elderly/elderly conversations may include romantic issues and poetry. Elderly interactants freely perform overlap, interruption, quarrel and raise voices when interacting with each other. They also address each other with pejorative and unmitigated utterances to express their refusal, and adopt the least preferable strategy to repair each other. Finally, elderly patients as well as their younger physicians tend to socialise their institutional settings by avoiding medical or colloquial terms that may relate to sex or internal organs. Moreover, they address each other with social labels (son/hajji) rather than institutional (doctor/sir). The thesis concludes that the elderly in Libya interact and communicate in accordance with their social status and perception. Elderly fathers, younger sons, elderly peers and healthcare providers co-construct the status of the elderly in their everyday talk-in-interaction settings.

10.4. Implications of the Study

This research throws new light on the language and discourse of the elderly people when they are perceptually and interactionally integrated in their families and societies. This research can be regarded as pioneering in exploring elderly interaction and discourse in society. Most research in the field of elderly language has concentrated on institutional settings, such as hospitals or nursing homes, and employed elderly respondents suffering from language impairments (see Coupland, Coupland, and Giles, 1991; Nussbaum and Coupland, 1995; Caporael et al., 1983;

Caporael and Culbertson, 1986; and Brown, 1977; among others). The research suggests that integrating the elderly in their families and societies can provide them with a better chance to actively and understandably interact and communicate. Thus, there is a real value for language pathologists and therapists dealing with the elderly to call for families and societies to take a major part in the therapeutic treatment of their elderly patients (e.g. aphasics).

In addition, the research contributes to a variety of different disciplines. Socio- and psycholinguists will be interested in it as it provides data and analysis purely relevant to their area of study. The research illustrates the social and linguistic features of elderly communication and discourse with other social and institutional agents (in this case, younger sons, elderly peers and younger doctors).

Sociologists, gerontologists and policy makers can also benefit from this research and see what they should do with the mistreatment and disintegration phenomena amongst the elderly stalking in many societies. The research assumes that any legislation's familial and social disempowerment of the elderly may increase their isolation both within the family and society. Subsequently, government spending on elderly care services in hospitals and nursing homes will significantly increase. Providing services for the elderly within their families and societies can avoid social workers and governments encountering increasing cases of elderly mistreatment and abuse committed by some nursing homes staff and carers. Finally, gerontologists may suggest any relationships between ageing and familial, social, and professional activities of the elderly, and how being involved in such activities may positively change society's perception of the elderly and elderliness, for example as a burden, or for their association with death (gerontophobia).

10.5. Theoretical Contributions of the Study

10.5.1. Contributions to Secondary Baby Talk (BT) and Inverted-U Model

Previous studies suggest that secondary BT and the Inverted-U model characteristics are completely attributed to ageing. In contrary, this study suggests that those characteristics should be referred to perceptual stereotyping that might not involve the elderly. The social and institutional agents' power over the elderly in some societies can be seen as similar to that employed over children. The study argues that the empowerment of the elderly in other societies may disqualify them from BT. The study's powerful elderly fathers communicate and are being communicated with by their younger sons, elderly peers and younger doctors in a way that can never be related to children (see sections 6.4, 7.5, and 8.6). Such social power and status of the elderly can extend its influence to institutional settings. Hence, BT language cannot be addressed to the elderly by healthcare providers in hospitals despite their institutional power over them because their social power and status prevail over the institutional power and status of their addressers (see section 2.3.2.3.4. in Chapter 2).

10.5.2. Contributions to Language Disorder Theorising

The study suggests that most research on the language deficits of the elderly, i.e., the Deficit Paradigm, provides quantitative and experimental rather than qualitative and chronological evidences to the association of language disorders with ageing. This study might point to the fact that the elderly's social construction and status play a major role in the increasing language disorders and diseases from which they suffer. Isolation and disintegration (deactivation) of the elderly make them more vulnerable to suffer from language and communication disorders (see section 9.3.1.2. in Chapter 9). More evidently, most elderly language and communication pathologists and

therapists have emphasised the significant role of familial and social environments and communication for curing the elderly's language and communication disorders (see Krug et al., 2002; and Unicent, 1995). The study concludes that the elderly could avoid suffering from language and communication disorders if they were familially and socially activated. Moreover, impaired elderly could be speedily and more accurately (and in fact more cheaply) treated from their language and communication disorders if they were reactivated within their families and society, by having significant familial and social role and status.

10.5.3. Contributions to Policy Making and Policy Makers on the Elderly

This study insists that identifying the elderly as a special social category that needs more care and services increases discrimination against them and their disintegration and abuse in many societies. The study suggests that services to the elderly can be provided within their familial and social environment. Moreover, familial and social disempowerment of the elderly by social policy makers and legislators increases their familial and social disintegration and isolation, and subsequently, decreases their chance to interact and communicate. The study postulates that proving services to the elderly within their families and community could decrease the cost being spent on them within hospitals and nursing-homes. Providing financial supports to families and societies to look after their elderly may encourage familial and social integration and links, and subsequently, could decrease the occurrence of elderly abuse, suicide, and homicide reported on hospitals and nursing-homes inhabiting the elderly.

10.6. Methodological Contributions of the Study

10.6.1. Contributions to the Research of Elderly Communication and Discourse in Libya

This study takes the initiative to fill in a recognisable methodological gap in the literature of elderly communication and discourse in Libya in particular, and in Arab, Muslim and Bedouin societies in general. The study provides systematic data of audio-recorded naturally-occurring conversations. This study's systematic data and analysis provide a support an empirical evidence to the existing ethnographic and anthropological data on elderly fathers/younger sons perception, communication and discourse.

10.6.2. Contributions to CA Methodology

Employing only CA methodology for analysing conversations can leave some methodological gaps. Despite its characteristics of knowledge accountability, reflexivity, intersubjectivity and co-construction, CA cannot measure some of the study's interactional features that characterise communication and discourse amongst the elderly, e.g. raisable issues, talkativeness and verbosity, style and structure (see Chapter 8).

Furthermore, this research states that CA norms and interactional organisation and sequences are systematic and standard. Rather, such CA components are cultural-specific. For example, Western CA analysts describe other-initiate other-repair strategy as the least preferred one. In contrast, this study has found out that this strategy is the most preferred by elderly interactants, and also well received by their younger son addressees. Moreover, monopolising the talk's time-span by elderly interactants cannot be described as talkativeness in the culture of this study's subjects.

Rather, it is described as a natural part of the elderly interlocutors' social and cultural role.

Similarly, the elderly interactants' continuous performance of overlap and interruption when talking to younger sons cannot be characterised as impoliteness of the elderly interactants or the containment of the younger interactants. Such analysis might occur if the culture of the interactants was different, e.g. western. Finally, this study emphasises the use of quantification of the performance some CA norms, e.g. overlap, interruption, and the length of turns which may point to the social status of interactants (in this case the elderly) (see Seedhouse, 2004; and Heritage, 1995).

10.7. Directions for Further Research

This research can open the horizon to other research that can be inspired by it. More work could be done on the social construction of other social agents and actors, e.g. the social status of children, women, wives, husbands, males, females, etc. Such research could examine how societies perceive those social agents and actors, and accordingly co-construct them in everyday talk-in-interaction social and institutional settings. Researchers may investigate how societies perceive and converse with their political leaders, or how students perceive and interact with their teachers.

Broadly speaking, whenever and wherever there are human agents interacting and communicating, research on how those agents perceive each other and co-construct each other through their daily naturally-occurring conversations can take place. Furthermore, the research provides comparative and contrastive materials for similar work that might be implemented in the future, in the same region and on the same ethnic group as this research, and/or for similar research that could be conducted in different regions and on different ethnic groups around the globe. The findings of this

research can be utilised as a data for comparison and contrast with findings of a historical research that can be conducted in the same area of this research (Sebha, Libya) and/or on the same ethnic group (Arab, Muslim and Bedouin). Finally, this research might lead other researchers to identify other research gaps in the literature that needs to be filled.

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APPENDIX ONE: TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Transcription Conventions

‘Punctuation marks are used to capture characteristics of speech delivery, not to mark grammatical units’ (borrowed from Seedhouse, 2004)

[	indicates the point of overlap onset
]	indicates the point of overlap termination
=	a) turn continues below, at the next identical symbol b) if inserted at the end of one speaker's turn and at the beginning of the next speaker's adjacent turn, it indicates that there is no gap at all between the two turns
(3.2)	an interval between utterances (3 seconds and 2 tenths in this case)
(.)	a very short untimed pause
<u>word</u>	underlining indicates speaker emphasis
e:r the:::	indicates lengthening of the preceding sound
-	a single dash indicates an abrupt cut-off
?	rising intonation, not necessarily a question
!	an animated or emphatic tone
,	a comma indicates low-rising intonation, suggesting continuation

.	a full stop (period) indicates falling (final) intonation
CAPITALS	especially loud sounds relative to surrounding talk
◦ ◦	utterances between degree signs are noticeably quieter than surrounding talk
↑ ↓	indicate marked shifts into higher or lower pitch in the utterance following the arrow
> <	indicate that the talk they surround is produced more quickly than neighbouring talk
()	a stretch of unclear or unintelligible speech.
(guess)	indicates transcriber doubt about a word
.hh	speaker in-breath
hh	speaker out-breath
→	arrows in the left margin pick out features of especial interest

**APPENDIX TWO: TRANSCRIPTIONS OF ELDERLY FATHERS/YOUNGER
SONS CONVERSATIONS**

This is just a sample. Full transcripts are available upon request.

Extract Cs: A conversation between a son and his father about the son's new daughter Isbou (the 7th day of a newborn baby) celebration. (May, 2003)

- Son: غدوة كيف بتد يرو في السبوع؟
What are you going to do in the Isbou (the 7th day of a newborn baby) tomorrow?
- Father: تروا هات قلم وورقا
Now, bring a pen and paper.
- Son: مبا هي
Ok
- Father: هات القلم وورقا قبل هي
Firstly, go and bring a pen and paper.
- Son: تعدو مجموعا واللا؟
You are going to prepare a list, aren't you?
- Father: ايه هاتهن هي يا سيدي جهزها وتو بعدين انسقوها
Yes, bring them (my sir) prepare it and we will organize it later on.
- Son: امبا هي
Ok
- Father: هاتهن لي تروا اني بنعدي للزاويا مرات
Bring them to me now; I might go to Al-Zawiya (religious lodge or monastery).
- Son: تروا؟
Now?
- Father: غير نراجي فدواا
I am just waiting for the medicine.
- Son: مبا هي
Ok
- Father: أيواه
Yah
- Son: باهي اي باهي كيف بتديرو تروا نسجلوهم اني و صرار كان ها
Ok, yah, ok, what are you going to do, if so we will write down the guest list, Sarrar and I.
- Father: لا
No
- Son: آه؟
So?
- Father: اني الي نسجلك بيش تعرف الي تعزمه
I am who is going to list them for you to know who you invite.
- Son: كم خمسين؟
How many, fifty?
- Father: في هالوهلا مان قالك عمران آا قالك صرار؟
Around that, did Omran aa Sarrar tell you?
- Son: لا؟
No?

Father: قالى قالك كيف وما كيف قتلا
He told me how and how, I told him

Son: قبل أنى قتلا لحم نقسموه و خلاص
Before, I suggested that we should distribute row meat only.

Father: انتز لالا
Ints, no, no, no

Son: آه
What then?

Father: هادا هوا الدوا الراجل قال هلكو
Did the man tell you that this is the medicine?

Child: آيه
Yes

Father: بالك مش هوا عطيه لصرار يشوفه
It couldn't be it, give it to Sarrar to check it.

Child: لالا هوا قال هल्ली
No, no, it is it, he told me

Father: ترا شوفه
Will you check it?

Child: تصرار قالى هدا هوا
t Sarrar told me it is it.

Father: جبت القلمو
Did you bring the pen?

Son: آيه
Yes

Father: آه
What?

Son: آيه
Yes

Father: أول حاجا اكتب عمك الغناي
First thing, write the name of your uncle Alghanayee

Son: مباهى
Yes

Father: وو أحمد ومحمد ك واحد وضراريه والا لا عندهم ضراري هما؟ والا لعائلات؟ آه؟
And, and Ahmed and Mohammed, every one with his sons, or what? Do they have sons? Or the families, yeah?

Son: واللاهى العائلات لا بدا يجو
I think that the families will necessarily come.

father: ساهل تو غير دير الرجل قبل وبعدين
That's fine now, just write down the men first, then

Son: باهى
Ok

Father: الغناي وضراريه الزوز وولد خوه وخوه ولاخر بوبكر والا شن سماه هوا؟ بوبكر والا شن سماه؟
Alghanayee and his two sons, and his niece and brother, and that Boubaker, or what's his name? Boubaker, or what's name?

Son: بوبكر ماهو قاعد فصحرا
Boubaker is in the desert.

Father: وعندك مهبج
And also Imhabij.

Son: والله ماني عارف كيف تبو انتم بترقوهم فوق السطح والا كيف؟
Well, I don't know what you want; do you want to receive them on the floor, or what?

Father: هنا و المربوعا هدي عليها الدار سادا
Here and the guest room, that's enough

Son: تسدهم هدي
It can contain them

Father: نفتحو الدار هدي نظفوها كويس نفتحوها أه؟
And we open this room, clean it tidily and prepare it, yah?

Son: باهي
Ok

Father: المربوعا هدي أه؟
This guest room, yah?

Son: لا خلاص
That's fine

Father: وازو الصغار....أه؟
Choose from the children, yah?

Son: باهي غير ضغط بس مرات
Ok, it just could be very hot

Father: لالا مش بكل ما فيه ضغط راه فب الليل الكلام هذا راهو أه؟
No, no, not to that extent, there will be no very hot weather at night, yah?

Son: ايه وصيتو علي شي والا شن كيف بتديرو تو؟
Yes. Did you prepare any thing, or what, how are you going to do now?

Father: تو بتديرو.....غير في اللحم كالا الباقي لآخر كلاه موجود والا لا
Now, we'll do...just the meat, the rests are all ready, aren't they?

Son: باهي
Ok

Father: شن بيديرو هما ليل هوا بيديروو آآ بيديروو آآ مكرونا وكسكسي
What shall we do, it is night, we'll do a a , we'll do a a pasta and kosckos

Father: هريساً؟ هريساً وخضرا ومشروب أه؟
Hareesa? Hareesa and vegetables and drinks, yah?

Son: باهي باهي
Ok, Ok

Father: خلاص قول لعمران أه؟ ديرو معاهن ختما غير هدي كبيراً واجد
Fine, tell Omran, yah? Do khatma (reading the whole Koran), just this is very big.

Son: خلاص باهي
Alright, ok

Father: أه؟ عمران أشبح شن بيحب ومتاعين الختما معاه هو بيقول كيف ما قت أنت قبل
Yeah? See what Omran is going to bring and the Khatma (reading the Koran) people with him. He is saying the same of what you do.

Son: إي بيجو مرات ما يستحق يحب معاه حد الجماعة اللي هنا كلها تقرا
Father: تقرا وكان يبي حد (.....) أه

Son: خلاص باهي (.) غير مصطفى نبي يجي بعدين واتفق

Father: والله رتب ما: قتلك سبقني فيها شوي

Son: منو؟

Father: صرار مهتم بال- هو اللي يناقش في ال يخه هو يبيها زايد ناقص بعدين قاللي كيف قايللي قبل بعدين إسماعيل قاللي

Son: لا أني قتله لحم وزعوه وخلاص لإنني آ: ما فيه المكان ضيق مثلا والّا

Father: ما هوش ضيق ما هوش ضيق، هدي تقل تقل ما شاء الله لما تحولو عندك الكرهبا ندرسوها برا، نفتحو الدار هدى ونرفعو (.....) هي فيها دواليب وإلا: وإلا لا

Extract As: This conversation is between a father talking to his son about his trip to a therapist curing with herbs (May, 2003)

(1)

Son: حمو غادي زي سبها ولا

Is hot in there like Sebha, or::

Father: لا كويس، برودة والله

No, it is nice

(2)

Son: طبيب هو ولا شنو؟

Is he a doctor or what?

Father: هوا في الأول كان ممرض، غير قالوا أنظر كيف مشي لإيطاليا ولا كيف دورة ولا مم

Firstly he was a nurse, then it is said that he somehow got a scholarship to Italy or

mm

Son: مشي دورة لإيطاليا؟

He has been to a scholarship to Italy?

Father: إيه

Yeah

Son: شنو غادي::

Is it there:::

Father: لا بدا محصل مجلة ولا حاجة مستفاد منها

He [the therapist] had got a journal or anything else as guidance

(3)

Son: زحمة عليه؟

Does he [the therapist] have lots of clients? =

Father: زحمة

=crowded

Son: عرب واجدة

Lots of people?

Father: واجدة بكل

Too many

Son: من سبها ولا غير من
From Sebha or just from
Father: من سبها، من طرابلس، من بنغازي، من مصراتة.....
From Sebha, from Tripoli, from Benghazi, from Mustrata.....

(Extract A4)

- 1- son: حتى المية قالو يعطي فيها بالكيل و الا () الوقت
2- father: حتى اللحم الأحمر مانعه كان غير دجاج و الا حوت وما تكثر منه
3- son: صار مانع عليكم حتى اللحم
4- father: ايه

(Translation of extract A4)

- Q1 1- son: It has been said that even water, he [the curer] gives it by
2- measures or () time
3- father: he even bans red meat. He allows only chicken or fish in
4- certain quantities
Q2 5- son: so, he even bans you from meat?
A2 6- father: yes

Extract Bs: The father is discussing with his son the selling of their farm.

Son: شن ينزرع فيها الوقت هذا
[]
Father: ينزرع فيها
كل شي، ينزرع فيها الخضروات وينزرع فيها القصبه الصيفية.....
(translation)

Son: what could be grown up in it this time?

[]
Father: everything can be grown in it: vegetables,
summer grasses

- 1- son: كيف قتلي الحداد بياخذ الوحدة [المزرعة]
2- father: الحداد ياولد ادهور في المزرعة وشبح فيها وشبح وقال بيشريها
3- son: باهي وخير// تا
4- []
5- father: // وعزما في الشراء
6- son: خير د//عو
7- []
8- father: // بعدين ماآ قال انلم قروشي انضم قروشي ونجيك
9- باهي؟

(Translation of extract B3)

- 1- son: what did you tell me, Alhadad [a person] will buy the thing
2- [the farm]?
3- father: oh son, Alhadad had a walk around the farm and looked at it
4- and said he would buy it.
5- son: alright, so why h//e is la
6- []
7- father: //and his desire is for buying
8- son: what's w//ron
9- []
10- father: //then, m: a: a:: he said that he will get his money
11- together and come to you.
12- son: yah

- 1- son: هو ساكن في سبها؟
2- father: أه؟
3- son: في سبها والا من برا سبها
4- []
5- father: لا هو من سكان سبها هو
6- son: أم م
7- father: هو من سكان المنشية بنقلا محمد حسين الحداد
8- son: بأهي

(Translation of extract B4)

- 1- son: does he live in Sebha?
2- father: what?
3- son: in Sebha or on outskirts of Sebha?
4- []
5- father: no, he lives in Sebha, he=
6- son: =a: wh-whe
7- father: he is from Almanchiya [a suburb in
8- Sebha] and is called Mohammed Hussien Alhadah.
9- son: alright

(Extract B4)

- Son: زمان الخسارة ما تحسوا فيها
In the past you didn't consider losing money
Father: ما نحسوا فيها () ما نحسوا فيها كيف ما نحسوا فيها. ما هناك واحد يخسر وما يحس لكن عندا
أمل وعندا طموح إن هوا يعوض
We didn't consider it () we didn't consider it, how didn't we consider it it.
Nobody loses and doesn't think about it, but there should be
hope and ambition for substitution and recovery.

(Extract B5)

- Son: ما تعرفوه زمان الشط ولوح؟
You didn't have bonfires in the past?

Father: ما: ما نعرفوه الشط ولوح

We didn't have bonfires

Son: امان كيف اديروا في العيد

So what did you do at Eid?

Father: المولد ماهو شط ولوح ولا مفرقات، المولد ذكر الله سبحانه وتعالى ويتلوك سيرة النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم

The Maowled is not about bonfires and fireworks, the Maowled is about citation of Allah almighty and recounting the life story of the Prophet Mohammed may Allah's prayer and peace be upon him

Son: صلى الله عليه وسلم

May Allah's prayer and peace be upon him

Father: كيف خدم وكيف هاجر وكيف جاهد وكيف سيرنا والناس على أقل تقتدي بيه وتبعا وتدير ما دار

How he [the Prophet Mohammed] worked, migrated, and went on Jihad?

And his autobiography, so people at least would model themselves on him, follow him, and do what he did.

Extract Ds: elderly father/younger son conversation. The father tells his son about a legend of *Bani Hilal* (May 2003)

Father: قالها (.....) تذبحها لي الجعداء- الناقة؟

(..)

Son: لا كيف هي قاتلا يا باتي؟ ما لاح بينا ضاوي؟

[]

Father: لالا مازال

Son: آه؟

Father: لا قال آ قالها (تعيش) في خاطر اذا جاكوا؟ قاتلا سبعة شهور والا لا يا باتي....

[]

Son: ايه ايه

(Translation of extract D)

Father: he said to her (.....) do you slaughter the camel for me?

Son: no, what did she say father? No light has appeared between us?

Father: no no no, this is not yet

Son: so?

Father: no, he said- he said to her oh daughter does it live in the mind if it came? She replied, seven months, isn't it father?

Son: yah, yah

Extract Es:

Father: الناس تاخذ من بعضها وتساعد في بعضها وين يعرفوك ماشي وبتمشي وتجي () تاجر تخش عليه

راس الشهر تخلص تاخذ حاجة ثانية

()

Son: قاعدا للأن هذي =

Father: = ايه قاعدا للأن الناس اللي آلا- في التسعينات بعد منين فتحنا الدكان هذا واللهم ما نعرفا، هوا يعرفني

Son: منو عادلو؟

Father: آيه

Son: المصراتي والا وش سماه؟

Father: المصراتي ما هو عادل

Son: آه

Father: خوه والا آ آ- م عادل ما نعرفا

Son: آه التارقي- زي التارقي ققي والا حسناوي هذا الأزرق الطويل والا أيين؟

Father: لا لا آ هذا مصراتي () عند واحد نسجلو عندا- نسجلو عندا في البضاعة () بناخذها بفلوسي ()

كهب علي قالا الحاج بلحسن اذا طلب حاجة إللي يطلبها عطيتها له وأني المسؤول

(Translation of Es)

Father: people borrow from each other and help each other. When they know you coming and going trading, you come to a trader in the beginning of the month pay him for what you've taken last month and take other goods and pay later.

(....)

Son: this habit is still exist

Father: yes, it is still exist, people who:: the:::- in the nineties when we opened this shop for us. I swear by Allah that I didn't know him, he knew me

Son: who? Adel?

Father: yah

Son: was he the Mustrati, or what's his name?

Father: the Musrati is not Adel

Son: so?

Father: his brother or- a-m I don't know Adel

Son: Ah the Targi- a Targi-like or Hasnawi that black tall man or who?

Father: no no a- this one was Musrati () we've been in a shop listing- listing goods ()

I was going to buy by my money () the man bound on me and told the shop owner that if Hajj Bilhissen wants any goods just give him on my responsibility.

Father: أني آ أني بندير مزرعة قالي باهي () في شهر واحد خمسة وستين

()

Son: خمسة وستين؟ // خمسة وسبعين

Father: // خ خم خمسة وسبعين

شهر واحد خمسة وسبعين () مشينا أني وسليمان عندا وطا شبحناها أني وعبدالله بو عنيزة....

Translation

Father: I a a I'll buy a farm. He told me ok () in the first month [January] sixty five

()

Son: sixty five? ↑ seventy five

[]

Father: fi- fiv- sixty five. The first month in sixty five () Solomon and I went to the man's land and saw it with Abdulla AbuInayza

Extract Fs: The father talks with his son about attending a social event (funeral) in Sebha (May, 2003)

Father: منين من القحوص زعم؟

Son: ولد العابد

Father: =ولد؟

Son: =العابد

Father: العابد؟

Son: آيه

Father: محمد زعمكو؟

Son: واللهي ماني عارف أين من ضراري العابد هذا ولدا

Father: سليمان هو العابد؟

Son: لا لا فيه واحد ثاني قحصي () فيه القحوص وفيه أولاد سليمان

[]

Father: نعرفا محمد

العابد سليمان

()

Son: لا آ حتى القحوص عندهم

()

Son: محلاتهم- وين محلاتهم ريت الآ- ريت الخطوط الجديدة اللي توا احنا فيها؟ مقابلها مقابلها فيه محلات زمان كان فيه واحد يبيع في المواد- في ال- القمم متخصص في القمم في الشوكة جاي؟

Father: آيه هدين محلاتهم؟

Son: هدين المحلات وهوا يسكن فوق () عندا شقة فوق منهن

Translation (Fs)

Father: from whom of the Ghoos do you think?

Son: son of Alaabid

Father: son of?

Son: Alaabid

Father: Alaabid?

Son: yah

Father: do you think Mohammed?

Son: by Allah, I don't know whose from Alaabid's sons he is

Father: isn't he Slaymani Alaabid?

Son: no no there is another one Ghosi () there is one [Alaabid] from the Ghoos and one from Awlaad Slayman

Father: the Mohammed Alaabid I know is Slaymani

Son: no a:: the Ghoos also has got one [carries the same name]

()

son: there shops- have you seen where their shops are- have you seen the airline's new building which where I am working in now? opposite opposite to it there are shops. In the past there was one selling materials- in th- tyre, specialized in tyres in the corner?

Father: yah, are these their shops?

Son: these are their shops, and he lives on them () he has a flat built on them

**APPENDIX THREE: TRANSCRIPTIONS OF ELDERLY PEERS
CONVERSATIONS**

This is just a sample. Full transcripts are available upon request.

Extract EAs: This group of three elderly is playing dice (with stones).

(1)

Elderly1: ما تتدري عن برنامجي كيف الرجل

Elderly2: ↑ الرجل

Elderly1: تندم عليه الكلام هذا

[]

Elderly3: هذا الكلام ما هو يالاك

Elderly1: لا إله إلا الله:::ه

[]

Elderly3: لا إله إلا الله خيرك؟ مات؟ ↑

Elderly1: مات والله

(Translation of extract EAs)

Elderly1: you don't know about the man's programme

Elderly2: the man ↑

Elderly1: you will be sorry about what you saying

[]

Elderly3: what I'm saying is non of your business

Elderly1: no God but Alla:::h

[]

Elderly3: no God but Alla::h, what is it over↑ [the game]

Elderly1: it is over, I swear

(2)

Elderly1: من وين جبتهن؟

Elderly2: من هنا

Elderly1: لا ما هو من هنا ↑

[]

Elderly2: قتلك من هنا

[]

Elderly3: أهو هنا الرشاد قدا::مك

[]

Elderly2: ما فيه شي

(Translation)

Elderly1: from where did you get them [the dice stones]?

Elderly2: from here

Elderly1: no, not from here ↑

[]

Elderly2: I told you, from here

Elderly3: []
there are the stones in front of you.

Elderly2: []
there is no thing in there.

Extract EBs: A group of elderly peers conversing in front of their shops in Sebha (May, 2003)

Elderly1: تو هو واخذ درس () قبلها () الحاصلة تعقد من النساء قال أنا المرة- اني مرة خرى
النساء اني معد ناخذهن بكل
Now he's taken a lesson () before () he's been complicated from
women. He said that I am the time-I would not be marrying a woman
for another time at all.

Elderly2: باهي
yah

Elderly1: يوم من الأيام طاح في وحدة مصوفة كيف متاع الإثنين والجمعة هذا قالو قالت قات أني لحم الذكر
ما ناكلش
One day he met a mystic woman, like that [an elderly man sitting with
them] of Mondays and Fridays. It's been said she said that she will
not eat a meat of male.

Elderly2: بي
bay

Elderly1: حتى من الغنم والا ال- الا المعيز
Even the meat of sheep or the goats

Elderly2: ما تاكل؟
Never eat it?

Elderly1: عيشان الذكور () ما تحب طاري الذكور خيفة منهم حتى لحم الذكور ما ناكل
Because of their masculinity () she hates any mentioning of
masculinity that why she afraid even from a masculine meat that she
wouldn't eat.

Elderly2: ايواه باهي
Oh, yah

Elderly1: ناض قال هذي صاحبتني=
So he stood up and said this can be my wife=

Elderly2: =هالمصوفة=
=This mystic woman?=
=

Elderly1: خذاها () خذاها ظهرت عطب من الأولات
=He married her () after marriage he found her worse than his
previous wife

Elderly2: بي
bay

Elderly1: واخذ منها درس
And thus he took a lesson from her

(2)

Elderly2: تو احني مانا قادرين () بعد بعد بعد

Elderly1: []
لالالا ما تقربوني اني دورولكم عرب أخرى () اني لا تدرسو علي

Elderly3: ولا تقربوني درسكم ما نبيه

Elderly1: خلاص تو احني خليكناك

Elderly2: اي لالا

Elderly1: بعد الشيايب بعد الشيايب بت- بتقرا؟

Elderly2: بعد الشيايب آ الله دايم بعد الشيايب، دلالك غاب، رفيقك تم تقول غراب

Elderly3: لاحول الله

Elderly1: []

Elderly2: لاحول ولا قوة الا بالله () راهو يشعر

(Translation)

Elderly2: now we are not able () after after after

Elderly1: []

Elderly3: no no no no don't approach me. Look for any body else

() you don't teach me, I don't want your lesson.

Elderly1: ok, now we discharge you

Elderly2: I don't think so

Elderly1: after elderhood after elderhood, you go- you're going to study

Elderly2: after elderhood A: Allah is the eternal, after elderhood, your wishes
has disappeared as your lover became like a crow

Elderly3: no ability but with Allah

Elderly1: []

Elderly2: no ability and no power but with Allah () he is rhyming.

Elderly1: أيام النجع اتدير وجهك ياللا القبلة

Elderly2: وتطلب ربك

Elderly1: وتطلب ربك وتدير الله في خاطرك

Elderly2: إيواه هداك هداك كان نيتك نظيفة

Elderly1: غير راجي

Elderly2: كان نيتك نظيفة

Elderly1: أنا قلت أنا قلت

Elderly2: مرات وجارك إنت وياه ما تحابو

Elderly1: آه

Elderly2: مرات وجارك إنت وياه ما تحابو

Elderly3: والله (.....)

**APPENDIX FOUR: TRANSCRIPTIONS OF ELDERLY
PATIENTS/YOUNGER PHYSICIANS CONVERSATIONS**

This is just a sample. Full transcripts are available upon request.

(Extract IA1)

- Physician: شن اللي تحس فيه يا حاج بالضبط؟
how exactly do you feel, hajj?
- Patient: نعم؟
what?
- Physician: شن اللي تحس فيه بالضبط؟
how exactly do you feel?
- Patient: نحس فيه؟
I feel?
- Physician: ايه اللي تحس فيه بالضبط شن؟
yes, how exactly do you feel?
- Patient: توا (..) اول ما تحرك علي مرار. اول عندي يا ولدي حساسية اليوم تقريبا سبعة سنين حساس
now (....) firstly bitterness has occurred. First, son, I had
rashes for about seven years, rashes
- Physician: ايه ايه
Yah yah
- Physician: من وين طالعتهك الحساسية؟
whereabouts did the rashes appear ?
- Patient: أكل حساسية
all rashes
- Physician: في وين في وين طالعتهك الحساسية؟ جسمك كلاك؟
whereabouts, whereabouts did the rashes appear? All over your
body?
- Patient: أكل، مشيت لطرابلس، مشيت لتونس، مشيت ماخليت مكان وهانا وكل ولكن الحمد
الله ربي حفظها علي حفظة شهود (....) جاتني شوية هنا طشيشا في وجهي اهي هنا
حاجة بسيطة
all, I went to Tripoli, I went to Tunis, I went, I hadn't left a place
[unvisited], and here, and all, but thank God who saved me (....)
they appeared very little on my face, here, very tiny spots here.

(Extract IA2)

- Physician: وين ساكن انتا؟
where do you live?
- Patient: جيزاو
Jezaw
- Physician: جيزاو؟ أه
Jezaw, yah
- Patient: عشرين كيلو من مرزق
twenty kilometres from Mourzque [a town]
- Physician: ايه ايه
yah, yah
- Patient: أيوه
yah

Physician: باهي باهي
alright, alright

Patient: بلاد الجيزاوي تعرف- تسمع بالجيزاوي؟
the country of Al-Jezawi, do you know- have you heard of Al-Jezawi [a person]?

Physician: ایه ایه سامع بیها ایه
yah, yah, I've heard of it, yah

Physician: قديش عندك ولد؟

Patient: قديش عني ولدا؟

Physician: **ایہ ایہ**

Patient: **عندي إحداسر ولد وثمان بنات وزوز نسوان**

Physician: إحدش؟ ما شاء الله ربي يبارك

Patient: قاعدين في بقعة وحدة هكى

Patient: هذا قريبنا من جيلنا يعني، اهو ولدا هنا يحضر في هانا يقرا هانا
he is our relative, from our generation I mean, his son is doing
a degree here, studying here

Physician: شن یقرا؟
what is he studying?

Patient: الجيزاوي يحضر- يقرأ في الدكتوراه
Al-Jezawi is doing- studying the doctorate

Physician: آه عرفتا ايه ايه عرفتا ايه
ah I know him yah yah, I know him yah

Patient: عبدالعـاـ عبدالعـاـ
Abdoul Aal- Abdoul

Physician: **عبدالمالك**
Abdoul Malik

Patient: **عبدالمالك**
Abdoul Al-Malik

(Extract IC)

Patient: إنتا يا ولدي من سبها؟
are you from Sebha, son?

Physician: من سبها ايه
from Sebha, yah

Patient: من سبها بروحها؟
from Sebha itself?

Physician: إيه من سبها
yes, from Sebha

Patient: سبها الجديد والا القرضة؟
Sebha Aljadeed or Algourdha?

Physician: آه- المهدية
ah- Almahdiyah

Patient: أني كنت ساكن فيها سبها، اني نعرفها ايبي e:::::h
I was living in Sebha, I know it e:::::h

(Extract IB1)

Patient: تو اللي يديرلك عملية ما بيرم عليها يشبحها؟
now whoever does an operation on you, shouldn't he look after it
[the operation]?

Physician: ايه
Yah

Patient: (.....)

Physician: ماهو هاداك اللي قايللا دير العملية
it was that [doctor] who told him to do the operation

Patient: لكن (اسمع) الصبع عليم الله يوجع في (.....) علي ما قتللا ياولد غير تعال (.....)
والله ما صيبا علي
but (listen) the toe, God knows, is hurting me (.....) as much
as I told him oh son just come (.....) by Allah, he didn't come to

me.

→ Physician: صح صح صح
you're right you're right you're right

Patient: قتلا إنت غير تقطع كراعي وتمشي، كيف؟ (.....) لكن مااا يجي، يشبح كراعا
ويجي يشبح الأمر هو اللي دايرلا عملية إحني انقولو ولانته قماطته
I told him you just amputated my toe and went away. How? (.....)
but how come, he should've looked after my foot, and come to see
what the matter is, he is the one who did the operation, we
say his [a Baby] midwife should be the person who swaddles him.

→ Physician: صح صح
you're right you're right

**APPENDIX FIVE: TRANSCRIPTIONS OF SEMI-STRUCTURED
INTERVIEWS WITH ELDERLY FATHERS, YOUNGER SONS, ELDERLY
PATIENTS AND YOUNGER PHYSICIANS**

This is just a sample. Full transcripts are available upon request.

Extract CF1

Interviewer: كيف إتكلم مع ولدك إذا هوا يبي يخطب؟

How would talk with your son if he wants to get engaged?

CF: يقول لإمه قولي لسيدي يمشي للمكان الفولاني. ويقول لها قوليله وقوليله. أنني بعدين قد أخذه إلى مكان مطرف ونقوله إنتا قتا لإمك وقت. في الأول يسكت مستحي ثم إنقنعه أن يصارحني نقوله لا حياة في الدين مرتين أو ثلاث انصر عليه لإني نبي نستوضح منه مباشرة. He tells his mum to ask me to go to the girl's family and he tells her tell my dad so and so. After that I take my son to a place where we sit together only and tell him that you've told your mum so and so. Firstly, he sits shyly silent, and then I convince him to talk frankly, because to shyness in life and religious matters. I need to insist on him two or three times, I need to clarify from him directly.

Extract CS1

CS: مستحيل إنتكلم مع باتي في علاقتي العاطفية. ولما أمي تكلم علي موضوع الخطبة، ما تقدر عين تجي في عينه ونتجنب إني نتقابل معاه ليوم أو أكثر
It is so impossible that I talk with my father about my romantic relationships. And when my mum talked with him about my desire to get engaged, I couldn't meet him face-to-face, and I avoided meeting him for a day or more.

Extract AF1

AF: أحسن حاجة الولد يسمع أكثر من إنه يتكلم مع باته ... والولد إللي يتكلم أكثر من إنه يسمع هذا غلطان
The best thing is that the son listen more than talk to his father... the sons who talk more than listen is a wrong one.

Extract BF1

BF: كبير السن محترم ويعرف كيف يتحدث. لهم خبرة في الحديث وإسلوبه... كل مناسبة عزاء أو طلب زواج لها كلام معين وإسلوب خاص .. كبار السن لهم خبرة في مجال الحديث والميعاد. أكبر واحد في الوفد هوا الللي يتكلم ثم يعين الللي يتكلم بعده.
Elderly people are respected and they know how to talk. They have experin talk and its style. Every ceremony, funeral or wedding, has its special kind of speech... elderly people had the experience in such speech and congregations. The eldest person in the meeting starts the speech and elects who should speak after him.

Interviewer: هل تختلف المعاملة سواء كان الإبن متزوج أم لا؟

Does dealing with your son differ if he was married or not?

BF: لا المعاملة زي بعضهم بس نواحي عن نواحي تختلف. بس كله ماشيات، النصايح ماشيات والأوامر ماشيات، كله والتوجيه المباشر. رغم إنه مزوج أو كونه غني فقير عندا ماعنداش. أعملها هكي ديرها هكي لإنك إنت عايش أكثر منا هوا. هدي كلها العوامل الإجتماعية مالها علاقة بالغني ولا بالفلوس ولا صحة ولا ولا. الواحد يبقى قاعد على الفراش ويعطي تعليمات وأوامره عادي بكل بساطه ما فيه مشكل بكل (.)

No, I'm dealing similarly, but there might be some difference in some aspects. But all is applicable to my sons: the advices and orders, all, and

son the direct instructions. Despite being [the father or the son] rich or poor, have money or doesn't. I tell them do this and that. I've lived longer than him [son]. All these social factors have no thing to do with richness or money or health, no no. the individual [elderly father] becomes ill laying on his bed, and yet he completely simply gives instructions and orders. There is no problem in that at all.

Interviewer: هل أنت العائل الوحيد للأسرة أو فيه تعاون في الأسرة؟

Are you the only breadwinner for your family, there is cooperation in the family?

BF: لا عادي كلنا فيه تعاون داخل الأسرة

No, all of us are cooperating within the family.

Interviewer: شن الآليات اللي تتبع فيهن في إتخاذ القرار في البيت؟

What strategies do you follow in making decisions for the family?

BF: واللهمي القرارات تختلف (.) فيه قرار ناخذه بروحي ما نشاور فيه حد، هذا رايب

By Allah, there is some decisions that I take by myself an I don't consult any body. This is my decision.

Interviewer: تقدر تقوللنا زي شنو القرار

Can you tell us like what those decisions?

BF: ها ها ها هذا قرار خاص ما ا ا هذا رايب وقراري. ومرات ناخذ رايب العويل ونشاورهم فيه بنديرو قرار بنديرو الحاجة تصلح ولا ماتصلح، وناخذ رايبهم ونسمعوا الراي ونشوفو رايب الأغلبية والراي اللي يصلح والراي اللي ما يصلح ومرات ندخل ونعدل من عندي

Ha ha ha [laughing] it's my private decision no a a this is my opinion and decision. Sometimes, I take the opinion of my sons and consult them on what should we do and what thing is good for us and what is not. I take there opinion and listen to their opinion and see the majority's opinion, and we take the best opinion. Sometimes, I intervene and modify the opinion.

Interviewer: إذا كان واحد من الأبناء انحرف عن العادة متاعت العائلة، ما هي الطريقة اللي تستخدمها؟

If any of your sons have violated the family's conventions, what do you do?

BF: ريت، أني من الأول كل حد عندا برنامج خاص كل حد عندا طريقة خاصة بالتربية والمتابعة والأسلوب بالكيفية اللي يعرفها هوا. إحنا عندنا وضعية خاصة، الشخص نبدو انتبعو فيه وهو صغير ما نخلو فرصة للانحراف أصلاً. أولاً ما نخلوه برا البيت يدور ولا حتى ينحرف ويتبع ناس ما هم كويسين والا أشياء ما هي كويسة ويشبح حاجات....

Look, I from the beginning, everyone has his own strategy, everyone has his own way in raising and following up his kids, and in the techniques in dealing with them. We have a special situation. We start following the person [son] since he was a child. We originally don't leave any chance for divergence. Firstly, we don't allow him [son] to stay outside home for along time so he could divert and follow bad people and do bad things, and watch things.....

Interviewer: مثلاً لو طول عن البيت، شن الطريف اللي تستخدمها؟

For example, if he [your son] has been away from home for a long time, what is your reaction?

BF: الطريقة الأولى نوجهوه وننصحوه، وإذا كان تكرر مرة ومرتين وثلاث نعاقبه عقاب طبعاً. لا بد منها. إحنا العقاب هوا من الأول واخذه في دماغه من عمر ستة وسبعة سنين

سنين وهو العقاب معاه لين يكبر وهو حاط العقاب في دماغه معاه. لكن فرق منين مش
خوذ عمود ونخبطه وكسره، لا فيه عقاب فيه كلام اللي اشد من الضرب

The first strategy is that we direct and advice him. And if he did that again
and again, we punish him of course. That's so important. We put
punishment in his mind from the beginning. He recognises that since he
was six or seven year old. But there is difference. Punishment doesn't
have to be by taking a stick and hitting him with it, but rather there is a
tongue-lash that is harder than beating.

Extract BS1

Interviewer: هل تحكي معا أبوك في المواضيع العاطفية؟

Do you talk with your father about romantic topic?

BS: لا صعبة لا لا صعبة

No it's difficult no no it's difficult

Interviewer: لو أن عندك مشكلة جنسية مثلا

If you have a sexual problem, for example?

BS: لا لا صعبة. لا ما تحكىش معاه مشكلة جنسية. يعتقد انها عيب. وحتى لو أنك حكيت معاه ما
يتجاوب معاك

No no it's difficult. No you don't talk with him (father) about a sexual
problem. He thinks that it is rude. Even if you talked to him about that, he
won't respond to you.

Interviewer: هل تستطيع بالكلام أن ترفض، مثلا يقول هوا (أبوك) جيب حاجة؟

Can you verbally refuse, for example, if he (your father) says to you bring
this thing?

BS: لا طبعا اتقول لا في وجهه صعبة صعبة لإحترامي ليه وواحد هوا يفهمها اتقولا حاضر
وما نديرها الحاجة اهيا مرات ما نديرها. نبدي انماطل فيه وما نديرها

No, of course, not straight away, it's so difficult because I respect him and
so. He would understand it, I say ok and then sometimes don't do what he
asked me to do. I just postpone it and not do it.

Interviewer: كيف اتقول؟

How do you respond?

BS: نقول يستر الله وحاضر وباهي

I say by Allah's will, and ok, and alright

Interviewer: هل تستطيع إنك اتقاطع أبوك في الحديث؟

Can you interrupt your father's talk?

BS: لا صعبة. انخليه لين يكمل بعدين نبدي أني

No, it's difficult. I let him finish and then I start talking

Interviewer: الشخص اللي يقاطع أبيه، شن رايك فيه؟

What do you think of a person who interrupts his father's talk?

BS: عندنا آداب الحديث، ودينا يفرض علينا إحترام لوالدين. هيا كلمة أف حرفين لا يسمح إنك اتقولها
فما بالك الرفض وغيرها. هدا كله عقوق الوالدين

We have talk politeness and our religion obliges us to respect our parents.
If even the word fe [blowing the air out of lungs as a sign of anger] which
consists of just two letters is not allowed to be addressed to them, so how
about refusing and other interactional behaviours. All these are
disobedience of parents.

CS

Interviewer: شن رايك في إنك اتكلم وباتك يتكلم في نفس الوقت؟
What do you think about overlapping your father's talk?

CS: لا أبدا، هذي الطريقة مش معقولة في مجتمعاتنا هذا مش مقبول
No, never. This way is incredible in our society, it is unacceptable.

Interviewer: من اللي عادة ينهي الحديث، هل الوالد أم أنت؟
Who usually end the talk, is it your father or you?

CS: الوالد دائما ينهي الحديث
It is always my father who ends the talk

Extract IYP1

Interviewer: ما هي طريقة حوارك وطريقة تعاملك مع المريض الكبير في السن؟
How do you talk and deal with your elderly patients?

YP: حالته الصحية بالدرجة الأولى وبعدين ثقافته وإجتماعيا هي أكثر شي
I'll be concerning with his health condition in the first thing, and then his education and social status in most importantly.

Interviewer: إنتا شن اللي يحكم علاقتك معاه؟
What does influence your relationship with him?

YP: على حسب الحالة
It depends on the case

Interviewer: كيف تقنع المريض بالكلام أن لا يتناول أكل معين؟
How do you verbally convince your elderly patient to not to consume a certain food?

YP: لا لا نقوله يا حاج لو إنك كليت الحاجة هذي تسبيلك كذا وكذا. مش مشكلة نحاولو معاه مرة وثنين.
لما المريض الكبير في السن اتكلم معاه كأنك طبيب يكلم في مريض رفيوزد يعني
ما يعطيكش هستري كامل بالمره
No no I tell him oh Hajj if you consumed this food it would cause you so and so. There is no bother, we try with him more than one time. If you talk to the elderly as a doctor to a patient he will refuse and will not give you his full history at all.

Interviewer: هل تغير في أسماء الأعضاء والأمراض؟
Do you interpret the names of organs and diseases?

YP: إيه إيه هو يقول عندي حاجة تخرج مني في الحمام. هو يقول من المخرج ما يفولش من فتحة الشرج
Yeah yeah, he [the elderly patient] says I have something coming out from in the toilet. He uses the word exit instead of rectum

Extract IEP1

Interviewer: كم عمرك يا حاج؟
How old are you, hajj?

EP: أني عمري ثمانين الحمد لله
My age is eighty thank Allah

Interviewer: كيف ينادوك الممرضات والممرضين؟
How do the male and female nurses call for you?

EP: ينادوني يا عمي الحاج
The call me oh uncle hajj

APPENDIX SIX: ELDERLY FATHERS AND YOUNGER SONS
STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS QUESTIONS

Structured interviews for elderly fathers:

This structured interview is for a research on the social construction of the elderly in Sebha (Libya): perception, communication and discourse. This research is for a Ph. D. degree in the School of Education, Communication and Language Sciences, University of Newcastle. We would be grateful if you cooperate in this interview. It should take you about 10 minutes.

Code:..... Age:.....

Social questions:

1-What is your social status?

a- married b- divorced c- widow

2- How many children do you have?

a- 0-4 b- 5-9 c- 10-14 d- +14

3- What is their age average (years)?

a- 1-15 b- 16-30 c- +31

4- what is your job?

a- employee b- pensioner c- jobless d- others

5 a- Are you the only breadwinner of your family?

a- Yes No

b- if 'No', how many breadwinners are there in your family? ()

6a- Do you attend any social events, i.e. engagement, wedding, funerals, compromising, etc.?

a- Yes b- No

b- If 'Yes', do you attend them as:

a- self representative? b- family representative? c- tribe representative? d- others.....

7- What mechanisms do you use in making decisions in the family?

a- you are the only decision maker b- consult wife c- consult sons d- consult all e- others.....

8a- Does it often happen that any of your sons has violated any conventions of the family?

a- Yes b- No

b- If 'Yes', what would you do with him?

a- punish him b- advise him c- ignore him d- others.....

9- Do you find any differences between the familial relationships in the past and the present?

a- Yes b- No

b- If 'Yes', please state the differences and why and how they have occurred.....
.....
.....

Linguistic and interactional questions:

- 1- How do you usually call for any of your sons?
a- by his name ١ b- by his gender (i.e. ولد يا ولد) ١ c- others.....
- 2- How often do you discuss the following topics with your sons?
Please give a mark 0-4 to each topic (0= not at all, 1= could be discussed but indirectly, 2= could be discussed directly, 3= could be via mediator (i.e. mother, uncle), 4= have to be directly discussed).
- a- familial and social topics:
- 1. the son's desire to get engaged and/or married
 - 2. the father's desire to get another wife
 - 3. deciding about daughter/sister's engagement/marriage
 - 4. troubles with wife
 - 5. troubles with daughter in law
 - 6. not/attending a social event
 - 7. others.....
- b- economic and financial topics:
- 1- debts
 - 2- Lending
 - 3- purchasing (i.e. car, farm, house, etc.)
 - 4- selling (i.e. car, farm, house, etc.)
 - 5- starting a new business
 - 6- stopping an existing business
 - 7- others.....
- c- sexual topics:
- 1- girlfriendship
 - 2- sexual physiological/psychological problems
 - 3- fertility problems you might have
 - 4- fertility problems your son might have
 - 5- Contraception
 - 6- Listening to music and watching TV
- 3- How do you usually present your request to your son?
a- order ١ b- order then explain ١ c-explain then order d- ask ١ e- ask then explain ١ f- explain then ask ١ g- others.....
- 4- How do you usually reject what your son has asked for or said?
a- strongly and directly ١ b- strongly and indirectly ١ c- softly and directly ١ d- softly and indirectly ١ e- others.....
- 5-What words/phrases do you usually use to reject what your son has asked for or said?

- a- لا b- أما يصيرش منها c- أما ظنيش يصير d- أتوانشوف
e- أ يصير خير f- others.....

6- How do you usually show your agreement with what your son has asked for/ said?

- a- strongly and directly b- strongly and indirectly c- just agree d- cautiously agree e- others.....

7- What words/phrases do you usually use to show your agreement with what your son has asked for or said?

- a- أحاضر b- أ باهي c- أماشي الحال d- أ يصير خير e- أ يستر الله f- أدير إلي تشوفه g- others.....

8- How do you find it to interrupt your son?

- a- very acceptable b- acceptable c- embarrassing d- very embarrassing e- others.....

9- What words/phrases do you usually use to interrupt your son?

- a- لا لا b- أسمع c- أمش هكي d- others.....

10- How do you tell your son to bring you something?

- a- order him b- ask him c- request him d- beg him e- others.....

11- What word/phrases do you usually use when asking your son to bring you something?

- a- أ جيب ال.. b- أ ترا جيب ال.. c- أ ترا بللهي جيب ال... d- أ ترا تربح بللهي جيب ال... e- others.....

12- When interacting with your son, who does usually end the interaction?

- a- the father, always b- either the father or the son c- the son, always d- others.....

13- What words/phrases do you usually use to end the talk with your son?

- a- أباهيو b- أ خلاصو c- أ أيواه d- others.....

14- What do you think of a son who exhibits the following features when interacting with his elder father? Please, give a mark 0-4 (0= very bad son, 1= bad, 2= neither bad nor good, 3= good, 4=very good).

- | | | |
|----|--|-------|
| a- | interrupt his father's talking | ..... |
| b- | overlaps his father's talking | ..... |
| c- | (verbally) reject his father's order/offer | ..... |
| d- | (verbally) accept his father's order/offer | ..... |
| e- | discuss sexual topics directly with his father | ..... |
| f- | listening more than talking to his father | ..... |
| g- | talking more that listening to his father | ..... |
| h- | Raising his voice | ..... |

15- What kind of language usually dominates your talk?

a- axioms | b- religious | c- experiences | d- others.....

16a- Do you use any pejorative language?

a- Yes | b- No |

b- If 'Yes', with whom do you usually use such language?

a- your children | b- your younger sons | c- same age friends | d- friends' children
| e- friends' younger sons | f- same age relatives | g- relatives' children | h-
relatives' younger sons | i- others.....

c- When do you usually use such language?

a-..... b- c- d-

d- Could you please state any examples?

a-..... b-..... c-..... d-.....

17a- Do you find any difference between the father/son interaction in the past and the present?

a- Yes b- No

b- If 'Yes', please state the differences and why/how they have occurred?.....

.....
.....
.....

18- What factors do you think could influence father/son relationship and discourse (e.g. health, wealth, level of education, etc.), and why?

.....
.....
.....
.....

19- Would you like to add anything you think relevant to this topic and it has not been covered in this interview?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Thanks for your time and participation
May, 2003

Structured interviews for younger sons:

This structured interview is for a research on the social construction of the elderly in Sebha (Libya): perception, communication and discourse. This research is for a Ph. D. degree in the School of Education, Communication and Language Sciences, University of Newcastle. We would be grateful if you cooperate in this interview. It should take you about 10 minutes.

Code:..... Age:.....

Social questions:

1-What is your social status?

- a- single | b-married | d- divorced | d- widow |

2- How many children do you have (if applicable)?

- a- 0-4 | b- 5-9 | c- 10-14 | d- +14 |

3- what is your job?

- a- employee | b- pensioner | c- jobless | d- others

4- Are you a breadwinner of your family, please state how and why?

- a- Yes | No |

How?.....

Why?.....

5a- Do you attend any social events, i.e. engagement, wedding, funerals, compromising, etc.?

- a- Yes | b- No |

b- If 'Yes', do you attend them as:

- a- self representative? | b- family representative? | c- tribe representative? | d- others.....

6- Do you participate in making decisions in the family?

- a- Yes | b- No |

7a- Does it often happen that you have violated any conventions of the family?

- a- Yes | b- No |

b- If 'Yes', what was you father's reaction?

- a- punish you | b- advise you | c- ignore you | d- others.....

8- Are you happy with your social and communicational relationship with your father?

- a- Yes | b- No |

c- If 'Yes', please state

why.....

.....
.....

- 9- Do you (wish to) keep the same kind of relationship with your son(s)?
 a- Yes 1 b- No 1

Linguistic and interactional questions:

- 1- How do you usually call for any of your father?
 a- by his name 1 b- يا حاج 1 c- أيا باتي 1 d- أيا سيدي 1 e others.....
- 2- How often do you discuss the following topics with your elder father?
 Please give a mark 0-4 to each topic (0= not at all, 1= could be discussed but indirectly, 2= could be discussed directly, 3= could be via mediator (i.e. mother, uncle), 4= have to be directly discussed).
- a- familial and social topics:
- | | | |
|----|---|-------|
| 1. | your desire to get engaged and/or married | ..... |
| 2. | your father's desire to get another wife | ..... |
| 3. | deciding about sister's engagement/marriage | ..... |
| 4. | troubles with your wife | ..... |
| 5. | troubles between your father and mother | ..... |
| 6. | not/attending a social event | ..... |
| 7. | others..... | ..... |
- b- economic and financial topics:
- | | | |
|----|--|-------|
| 1- | debts | ..... |
| 2- | Lending | ..... |
| 3- | purchasing (i.e. car, farm, house, etc.) | ..... |
| 4- | selling (i.e. car, farm, house, etc.) | ..... |
| 5- | starting a new business | ..... |
| 6- | stopping an existing business | ..... |
| 7- | others..... | ..... |
- c- sexual topics:
- | | | |
|----|---|-------|
| 1- | girlfriendship | ..... |
| 2- | sexual physiological/psychological problems | ..... |
| 3- | fertility problems you might have | ..... |
| 4- | fertility problems your father might have | ..... |
| 5- | Contraception | ..... |
| 6- | Listening to music and watching TV | ..... |
- 3- How do you usually present your request to your father?
 a- order 1 b- order then explain 1 c- explain then order 1 d- ask 1 e- ask then explain 1
 f- explain then ask 1 g- beg him 1 h-others.....
- 4- How often do verbally reject what your father has asked, offeres, or said?
 a- not at all 1 b- some times 1 c- always 1 d- others.....
- 5- How do you find it to verbally reject what your father has asked/offered/said?
 a- very acceptable 1 b- acceptable 1 c- unacceptable 1 d- very unacceptable 1
 e- others.....

- 6- How do you usually reject what your father has asked for, offered or said?
a- strongly and directly | b- strongly and indirectly | c- softly and directly | d- softly and indirectly | e- do/can not reject at all | f- others.....
- 7- What words/phrases do you usually use to reject what your father has asked for, offered or said?
a- لا | b- أما يصيرش منها | c- أما ظنيش يصير | d- أتوانشوف | e- أما يصير خير | f- others.....
- 8- How often do verbally agree with what your father has asked for, offered or said?
a- not at all | b- some times | c- always | d- others.....
- 9- How do you find it to verbally agree with what your father has asked/offered/said?
a- very acceptable | b- acceptable | c- unacceptable | d- very unacceptable | e- others.....
- 10- How do you usually show your agreement to what your father has asked for, offered or said?
a- strongly and directly | b- strongly and indirectly | c- just agree | d- cautiously agree | e- others.....
- 11- What words/phrases do you usually use to show your agreement to what your son has asked for, offered or said?
a- أحضر | b- أباي | c- أمشي الحل | d- أما يصير خير | e- أستر الله | f- أدير إلی تشوفه | g- others.....
- 12- How often do interrupt your father?
a- not at all | b- some times | c- always | d- others.....
- 13- How do you find it to interrupt your father?
a- very acceptable | b- acceptable | c- unacceptable | d- very unacceptable | e- others.....
- 14- What words/phrases do you usually use to interrupt your father?
a- لا لا | b- أسمع | c- أمش هكي | d- others.....
- 15- When talking to your father, how often do overlap with him?
a- not at all | b- some times | c- always | d- others.....
- 16- How do you find it to overlap with your father's talking?
a- very acceptable | b- acceptable | c- unacceptable | d- very unacceptable | e- others.....
- 17- When interacting with your elder father, who does usually end the interaction?
a- the father, always | b- either the father or the son | c- the son, always | d- others.....

18- What words/phrases do you usually use to end the talk with your father (if applicable)?
a- أباهيو b- أ خلاصو c- أ آيواه d others.....

19- What do you think of a son who exhibits the following features when interacting with his elder father? Please, give a mark 0-4 (0= very bad son, 1= bad, 2= neither bad nor good, 3= good, 4=very good).

- a- interrupt his father's talking
- b- overlaps his father's talking
- c- (verbally) reject his father's order/offer
- d- (verbally) accept his father's order/offer
- e- discuss sexual topics directly with his father
- f- listening more than talking to his father
- g- talking more that listening to his father
- h- Raising his voice

20- Are you happy with your conversational and communicational relationship with your father?

- a- Yes 1 b- No 1
- d- If 'Yes', please state why.....
.....
.....

21- Do you (wish to) keep the same kind of relationship with your son(s)?
a- Yes 1 b- No 1

22- What factors do you think could influence father/son relationship and discourse (e.g. health, wealth, level of education, etc.), and why?
.....
.....
.....

23- Would you like to add anything you think relevant to this topic and it has not been covered in this interview?
.....
.....
.....
.....

Thanks for your time and participation
May, 2003

**APPENDIX SEVEN: LEGALISED DOCUMENTATIONS OF SOCIAL AND
TRIBAL COMPROMISES AND RECONCILIATIONS
IN SEBHA (LIBYA)**

2001/10/02

كما يوجد أيضا في

تصنيف المبدأ

مدني	جنائي	جنائي
مدني	عقوبات	عقوبات
مدني	القسم الخاص	القسم الخاص
العقود المسماة	الجرائم ضد الأشخاص	جرائم أخرى
العقود الواردة على العمل	الجرائم ضد الأفراد	جرائم التشبهات المكتملة
الوكالة	جرائم القتل	جرائم الحدود والقصاص

رقم الطعن 44 / 796 جائي
تاريخ الطعن 1998/05/26

سنة وعدد الجلة ٤٠٠
رقم الصفحة

ملخص للمبدأ

موضوع المبدأ

منى كان الحكم المطعون فيه وإن أورد في مدواته أو أولياء دم المحني عليه قد تقدموا بطلبين لكل من النيابة العامة والمحكمة المطعون في قضائهما طالبين القصاص من الطاعن وتضمنا أنهما مقدمان من عم المحني عليه وأشقائه إلا أنهما لم يتضمنا أسماء باقي ورثته وهم والدته وشقيقاته حسب النابت من قرار تبون الوفاة وحصر التركة , كما لم يتضمنا ما يفيد أن عمه المذكور من ضمن ورثته بما يكون معه الحكم المطعون فيه إذ خالف المستفاد من نص المادة الأولى من القانون رقم 23-6 م وهو أن أولياء الدم هم جميع الورثة ولا يغير من ذلك أن ورثة المحني عليه قد وكلوا قريتهم في ذلك لأنه حسب النابت من هذا التوكيل المرفق أنه مقصور على تخويله إتخاذ كافة الإجراءات القانونية والقضائية من رفع الدعاوى أمام القضاء باختلاف درجاته ومسمياته وإن الموكل قد وقع على الطلبين ساعى الذكر بصفته الشخصية فقط وليس بصفته وكيلًا عن باقي الورثة كما أن المحامي الموكل قد حضر أمام المحكمة المطعون في حكمها حسب النابت من محاضر جلساتها مدعيا بالحق المدني فقط ولم يطالب بالقصاص من الطاعن الأمر الذي يتعين معه رفض الحكم المطعون فيه.

قصاص - شرط تطبيقه طلبه من أولياء دم المحني عليه - المقصود بأولياء الدم.

2001/10/01

كما يوجد أيضا في

تصنيف المبدأ

جنايات
عقوبات
القسم الخاص
جرائم أخرى
جرائم التشريعات المكملة
جرائم الحدود والفصاص

جنايات
عقوبات
القسم الخاص
الحرائم ضد الاشخاص
الحرائم ضد الافراد
جرائم القتل

رقم الطعن 151 / 44 ق جنائي

تاريخ الطعن 1997/05/14

سنة وعدد الجلسة ٤٠٠٠

رقم الصفحة

ملخص المبدأ

موضوع المبدأ

إن مقتضى نص المادة الأولى من القانون رقم 6 لسنة 23م بشأن أحكام الفصاص والدية أنه لا يجوز لأولياء دم المجني عليه أن يطلبوا من المحكمة الفصاص من الجاني والرامة بالدية في وقت واحد وإنما عليهم أن يختاروا بين طلب الفصاص من الجاني وبين الدية وكذلك لا يجوز للمحكمة المعروضة عليها الدعوى أن تحكم من تلقاء نفسها بإحدى العقوبتين دون أن تفق على حقيقة اختيار أولياء الدم وأن تطلب منهم تحديد طلبهم إما الفصاص وإما الدية.

الفصاص ودية وعدم جواز الجمع بينهما - أساسية

2001/10/01

كما يوجد أيضا في

تصنيف المبدأ

جائلي
عقوبات
القسم الخاص
الجرائم ضد الاشخاص
الجرائم ضد الافراد
جرائم القتل

جائلي
عقوبات
القسم الخاص
جرائم أخرى
جرائم التشريعات المكمله
جرائم الحدود والقصاص

رقم الطعن 1568 / 44 ق
تاريخ الطعن 1998/06/09

سنة وعدد المجلد
رقم الصفحة

ملخص المبدأ

موضوع المبدأ

منى كان بين من الأوراق أن والد المجني عليه . وهو أحد أولياء الدم . قد تقدم بعد صدور الحكم المطعون فيه بطلب ممدق عليه لدى محبر عقود بقر فيه بأنه قد عما عن المحكوم عليهم بالإعدام قصاصا وذلك مقابل استلامه الدية المتفق عليها الأمر الذي يتعين معه إعمال أثر هذا العفو تطبيقا لنص المادتين الأولى والثانية من القانون رقم 23-6 م بشأن أحكام القصاص والدية ونقص الحكم المطعون فيه والحكم بسقوط الحق في القصاص .

قصاص . عفو أحد أولياء دم المجني عليه عنه .
المنعاج تطبيقا .

كما يوجد أيضا في

تصنيف المبدأ

جنائي
عقوبات
القسم الخاص
جرائم أخرى
جرائم التشريعات المكملة
جرائم الحدود والقصاص

جنائي
عقوبات
القسم الخاص
الجرائم ضد الأشخاص
الجرائم ضد الأفراد
جرائم القتل

رقم الطعن 731 / 44 ق جنائي
تاريخ الطعن 1998/06/17

سنة وعدد الجلسة رقم
رقم الصفحة

ملخص المبدأ

موضوع المبدأ

إن المشرع وفقا لأحكام قانون القصاص رقم 6-23م جعل حق أولياء دم المجرى عليه في التعويض لا يخضع لأحكام المسؤولية التقصيرية الواردة في القانون المدني والتي تعتد بمدى جسامه الضرر ومقدار الخسارة اللاحقة بالمضروب عندما يكون خاصا لنص المادة الأولى من القانون المنشأ إليه والتي بمقتضاها تحل الدية بمفهومها في الشريعة الإسلامية محل التعويض المؤسس على أحكام المسؤولية التقصيرية دون اعتبار للقواعد والمعايير التي يتم على أساسها تقدير هذا التعويض متى توافرت في طلب الدية بشروطه التي نص عليها القانون وهي أن يكون الطلب مقدما ممن توافر فيه صفة ولي الدم وأن يسقط حقه في القصاص بالعمو فالدية تستحق بسبب العفو المسقط للعقاب قصاصا وتعتبر في هذه الحالة حقا لولي الدم بدلا من نفس المجرى عليه وجبرا للصر الذي أحدثته الجريمة بجميع وجوهه وبهذا يكون المشرع قد أصل الدية وفقا لأحكام الشريعة الإسلامية وهي المصدر الأساسي للقانون محل التعويض المبني على أحكام المسؤولية التقصيرية وفقا لأحكام القانون المدني، إلا أن ذلك مشروط بسقوط القصاص بعد وجوبه.

تعويض - قصاص - عدم جواز الجمع بينهما -
بسمه

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

محضر صلح

قال الله تعالى :

﴿ فمنه عفاء واصلع فاجره على الله ﴾

صدق الله العظيم

انه في يوم الثلاثاء 21 من شهر صفر الموافق 1998/6/16 فاجتمع جمع من قبيلة [REDACTED] وجمع من قبيلة [REDACTED] ، وایمانا منهم بقضاء الله وقدره ، وان ما حصل كان وليد وقته ، وحفاظا على العلاقات الطيبة بين القبيلتين واحمادا لنار الفتنة فقد اتفقوا على الاتي :

أولا : لقد عفا اولياء دم المتوفى / [REDACTED] من قبيلة [REDACTED] وهم :

1- [REDACTED] وصلته بالمتوفى والده

2- [REDACTED] وصلته بالمتوفى شقيقة

وذلك عن القصاص لمصلحة كل من [REDACTED]

ثانيا : لقد عفا اولياء دم المتوفى [REDACTED] من قبيلة اولاد سليمان وهم :

1- [REDACTED] وصلته بالمتوفى والده

2- [REDACTED] وصلته بالمتوفى عمه

وذلك عن القصاص لمصلحة [REDACTED]

ثالثا : ان اولياء دم المجنى عليهما المذكورين اعلاه يستقون حقهم في القصاص عن المتهمين المذكورين اعلاه . ويعلمهم عملا بنص المادة (1) من القانون رقم (6) لسنة 1423م بشأن احكام القصاص والدية.

رابعا : يسرى هذا الصلح على افراد القبيلتين ويتعهدون باحترامه وتنفيذه ، ويلزم كبار سن القبيلتين صغارهم بالامتثال للصلح واحترامه وتنفيذه .

خامساً: يسرى هذا الصلح على جميع المتهمين من الطرفين ، وافراد القبيلتين كما يسرى

على جميع المتهمين من الطرفين فى القضية رقم () جنح سبها والمتهمين هم:

من قبيلة

1- 2- 3-

من قبيلة

1- 2-

ويعتبر هذا الصلح تنازلاً عن كافة الحقوق الجنائية والمدنية .

سادساً: اعتبار التنازلات المرفقة بمحضر الصلح والمقدمة من المعنيين مكتملة للصلح وجرياً

تم هذا الصلح بمساعي حميدة من قبيلة وتند حضوراً لهذا الصلح

الصلح ووقعوا كشهود عليه .

التوقيعات

قبيلة

قبيلة

1- 2- 3- 4- 5- 6- 7- 8- 9- 10-
1- 2- 3- 4- 5- 6- 7- 8- 9- 10-
الشهود

من أبناء الحضور

من قبيلة

1- 2- 3- 4- 5-
1- 2- 3- 4- 5-

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

اقرار

نحن الموقعين أدناه " قبيلة [REDACTED] " تأكيذا منا على الروابط الاجتماعية والعلاقات القبلية ، وحفاظا على حياة الأبرياء وتقديرا للمساعي التي قامت بها قبيلة [REDACTED] ونزولا للعرف فأننا ونتيجة للحادث الأليم الذي أدى إلى قتل المرحوم :

([REDACTED]) علي يد الحناوة [REDACTED]

([REDACTED]) و ([REDACTED]) و ([REDACTED])

([REDACTED]) من قبيلة [REDACTED] ، وذلك في القضية رقم ([REDACTED])

لسنة (2002) جنايات قتل (سبها) .

عليه نقر بموافقتنا على ما جاء في طلب قبيلة [REDACTED] كالاتي :-

أولا : هدر دم الجناة الثلاثة المشتركين في القتل وهم : ([REDACTED]) و

([REDACTED]) و ([REDACTED]) واحقية قبيلة [REDACTED] في

المطالبة بدمهم مهما كانت نتائج محاكمتهم . . . وأن برأتهم العدالة .

ثانيا : عدم تقديم أي دعم أو مساندة للمذكورين وعدم حمايتهم تحت أي ظرف .

بما في ذلك المحاماة او زيارتهم .

وهذا اقرار منا بذلك

(قبيلة [REDACTED] وعليهم : -

1 [REDACTED]

2 [REDACTED]

3 [REDACTED]

4 [REDACTED]

5 [REDACTED]

6 [REDACTED]

7 [REDACTED]

8 [REDACTED]

9 [REDACTED]

10 [REDACTED]

11 [REDACTED]

12 [REDACTED]

13 [REDACTED]

14 [REDACTED]

15 [REDACTED]

16 [REDACTED]

17 [REDACTED]

18 [REDACTED]

19 [REDACTED]

20 [REDACTED]

21 [REDACTED]

22 [REDACTED]

23 [REDACTED]

24 [REDACTED]

25 [REDACTED]

26 [REDACTED]

27 [REDACTED]

28 [REDACTED]

29 [REDACTED]

30 [REDACTED]



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

تصالح وتنازل

أهـ بتاريخ 22/محرم/1407هـ الموافق 29/الماء/1426 ميلادياً نحن الموقعون أدناه من قبيلة [redacted] نقر ونشهد على أنفسنا ونحن باتم الأوصاف للجائزة شرعاً من قبلنا قانوناً وبدون أي ضغط أو إكراه علينا من أحد بأننا تنازلنا عن حقنا المدني والجنائي باعتبارنا أولياء دم القاتل المرحوم / [redacted] في الدعوى رقم ([redacted] سبها) المرفوعة منا ضد / [redacted] من قبيلة [redacted]، ومكان إقامته [redacted].

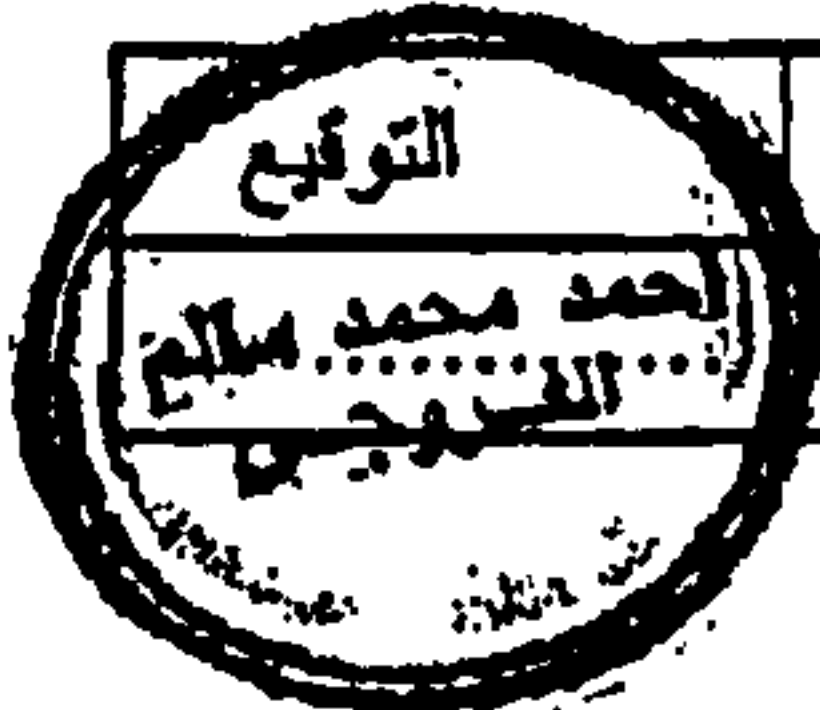
وبهذا فإننا امتثلنا إلى قوله تعالى "فمن عفى وأصلح فأجره على الله" صدق الله العظيم، وتنازلنا عن حقنا تجاه القاتل وقبيلته واعتباراً من تاريخ هذا التنازل لا نرغب بالسير في إجراءات الدعوى المذكورة أعلاه، وهذا تنازل منا بذلك والله على ما نقوله شهيد.

أولاً :- أولياء المجني عليه وصفاتهم :-

م	الاسم	رقم البطاقة	التوقيع
1	[redacted]	بط/ [redacted] سبها	[redacted]
2	[redacted]	بط/ [redacted] سبها	[redacted]
3	[redacted]	بط/ [redacted] سبها	[redacted]
4	[redacted]	بط/ [redacted] سبها	[redacted]
5	[redacted]	بط/ [redacted] سبها	[redacted]
6	[redacted]	بط/ [redacted]	[redacted]
7	[redacted]	بط/ [redacted]	[redacted]
8	[redacted]	بط/ [redacted] بنغازي أحمد بن جنيبة	[redacted]
9	[redacted]	بط/ [redacted] ج	[redacted]
10	[redacted]	بط/ [redacted]	[redacted]
11	[redacted]	بط/ [redacted]	[redacted]
12	[redacted]	بط/ [redacted] سبها	[redacted]
13	[redacted]	بط/ [redacted] ج	[redacted]
14	[redacted]	بط/ [redacted] سبها	[redacted]

ثانياً :- الشهود من قبيلة [redacted] / عائلة أولاد [redacted] :-

م	الاسم	رقم البطاقة	التوقيع
1	[redacted]	بط/ [redacted] سبها	[redacted]



2	بط/ سبها	.....
3	بط/ سبها	.....
4	بط/ سبها	.....
5	بط/ سبها	.....
6	بط/ سبها	.....
7	بط/ سبها	.....
8	بط/ مصراته	.....
9	بط/ سبها	.....
10	بط/ الخمس	.....
11	بط/ سبها	.....
12	بط/ الخمس	.....
13	بط/ سبها	.....
14	بط/ سبها	.....
15	بط/ سبها	.....
16	بط/ سبها	.....
17	بط/	.....
18	بط/	.....
19	بط/ سبها	.....

ترتيب رقم : 06/ 196
 صحيفة رقم :
 سجل رقم :



انه بتاريخ 1407/ 6 / 1426 ميلادية وعلى تمام الساعة الخامسة
 اصدق أنا / محرز العقود بدائرة محكمة سبها الابتدائية على صحة توقيعات الأخوة /
 أولياء المجنى عليه / وعندهم (14) أربعة عشر من رقم (1) المبتدئ باسم /
 والمنتهي رقم (14) باسم / وتوقيعات الشهود وعندهم (19)
 تسعة عشر من رقم (1) المبتدئ باسم / والمنتهي برقم (19) باسم /
 وذلك بعد التأكد من شخصياتهم وهوياتهم.



نور الى مستشفى ~~.....~~ وأجهزته له عملية اولى حيث بقي في غرفة العمليات ما يقارب
 من 5 ساعات ودخل بعدها الى العناية وبقي في مستشفى ~~.....~~ من مفرجه
 وهو بعدها الى مستشفى طب الفم والوجه والاسنان وأجهزته له عملية ترقيع
 عظمي وتثبيت العظم بالزجاج هيدريه وما زالت هذه الاجراح في ذراعه حتى الآن
 وعرض على محاميه طبيب واجتمع عليه اكثر من 10 دكاتره فتفق عليهم وقروا ضرورة
 ايفاده الى الخارج ويوجد تقرير لجنة طبيه بخصوص ذلك رفقة القضية ولكن الظروف
 المادية هي التي حالت دون ايفاده الى الخارج . رسالت لقضية تمت بتمويل ~~.....~~
 - بعدها تمكنت من حالة شبيهة ورجع ولكن الاقامة والقصور لذلك الذراع هي قديمة
 وصيرنا على ما اكرم بنا لانه هذا تضار الله في امره . بعد الاقضية الثلاثة التي هي
 والآله للسرد عليك بعض الاجراءات التي حدثت في مجمل هذه القضية والتي ترتبت عليها
 سلباً وإيجاباً .

- بعد ازالة ابني الى ~~.....~~ قبل انه تحرى له عملية الترميم العظمي التي الى ثلاث
 من ابناي محرمين وصم على الفو التالي :-

1- ~~.....~~ 2- ~~.....~~ 3- ~~.....~~
 وقالوا لي بأن بعض من اسرة الجاني قد اتوا اليوم يطلبون التنازل عن القضية
 وقلت لهم (انكم ابناي محرمين وانتم الذين الجاني اليكم اذا اتوا ابناي
 أهل الجاني يطلبون مني ذلك فربما ليس كذلك واذا أرادوا طلب العلم والتنازل
 فالامر لي بهم انه تأتوا أهل الجاني وليس ابناي) وهذا ما حصل فقط وقالوا
 لي انك على صواب سامحنا على هذا وانهم اعيار برزقهم وبالانكاس جدا
 انه تتأكدوا من ذلك

وبعد ما بفترة قصيرة واستحوذت شرة ايام فقط خرج الجاني من التوقيف ولم يقض من التوقيف
 سوى خمس ايام وبعده يوماً وخرج بدور تنازل ونزاعاً سألت له الكيف التي خرج بها قبل
 لي بأنه هذا احرار من احرار النساء في حالات مستثناءة وسكنت واهلية لقضية
 الى نكحة ~~.....~~ الكلية طلب مني بتاريخ 8/10/1401م وبعد ما لم يحاول أهل الجاني
 الاتصال بي لطلب التنازل ولم يأتوا الى ما يخصهم . وأخذ الجاني يسرع ويخرج
 على رأي مني وامناني رغم ما الحقه من غم وأخبرهم . وبقي الحال على ما هو عليه
 وأخذ الجاني يقوم بالاستغفار ومرض العظام لمدة تقارب من سنة ولم يقم أي من أبناء
 بمضايقته او التعرض له رغم معرفتهم الكاملة بملامة سكرته ومزجه اذا كانت لديهم
 فيه من ابدائه لكنه قل هذا لي يحصل ولم يخطر ابداً ببالهم وانه قضية اخبرهم
 لدى العدالة وينتظرون العدالة بفاغ الصبر لأخذ برأها الحقيقي وأخذ الجاني بالاستغفار
 حتى وصلت به الدرجة الى المروءة جداً ومحمداً به امام منزلي والذي بعد عنه سكرته
 بأربعة كيلومترات ولا يملأه الطمأنينة والاسرة امام منزلي وانه ما يقوم به ما هو الا راحة

واستفزازاً سافر علماً بأنه سكير وسيئ السمعة في منطقته اوردات يوم وبعد مرور أكثر من تسعة أشهر على قضية ابني وبتاريخ ٢٤.٤.١٩٩٤م اتى الجاني وقام بقتل سيارته وشاحنه نوع فيات ومرسه امام منزلي رغم وجود بشرات الطرمه في المنطقة وموقع منزلي بعيد عن الطرمه العام او الطرمه المؤديه الى التجمعات السكانيه وبأماكن التجمع مرفوعه فتات تاخرت حيث اذني وفي هذا العمر ياتي ولد صغير ويشتكى الى هذا الحد وقمت بأخذ سلاح الرشحه لي من الدوله وتبعته ذبح الولد وفي الطرمه رجعت ابني بسيارته ولم تلبس يدي بشيء حيث قام بمرور الكراج بسيارته مع امام احد منازل جيراني فأوقفته وركبت معه وقلت له هل ترى تلاح الشاحنه فقال نعم ضاقت له أنه الذي خرج اخبره وقلت له اطلع الناب على محلات سياره حتى لا يكرر استنساخه . وفعلنا هذا ما حصل ولدينا وبنا بجوارته اطلع ابني الناب على محلة السياره السري وخرج الجاني من امامنا سياره ودخل احد المنازل ورجعنا الى منزلنا وهذا قل ما حصل ولم نقصد الا أنا ولا ابني قتله ولا ابناؤه فقط قصدنا اخافقه حتى لا يكرر استنساخه واذا كنا نقصد قتله فاننا نزل من اماننا ومازلنا نتقصده من سيارته ودخل احد المنازل ولدينا نزل من سياره لم نعلم حتى تهريب السلاح اليه وانه قصدنا فقط اخافقه ليس الا - بعد هذا ثارت ثائره اعله واقاموا لنا واوقدوها وقاموا بنسج الاقاميل والتأويلات التي تحبه بعينيه من كل البعد منهم من اراد ان يراهم علينا في المنزل رفقة خمنه مسلحاً واقاموا اخرى لا طمحي لولا .

وهذه الجاني وابيه وقاموا برفع شكوى ضدنا ضد ~~التي تقولون~~ فينا بأنه ابني يصول ويحول والى لم آتى الى المركز وهذا كله لم يحصل فقامت الشرط باستدعائنا أنا وابني وفحصنا الى المركز واخذت اموالنا وحولنا الى الساباه واقف ابني واخرج قني بكفاله وابني ما يزال في التوقيف من تاريخه حتى كتابة مذكرة هذه الكيم وهذا ما حصل من اجداث .

- اما اجداث الصالح التي قمنا بها قريه على النحو التالي :-

1- محاربات الصالح الاول على التي قمنا بها .

وقعت الحادثة الاخرى بتاريخ ٢٤.٤.١٩٩٤م وتاريخ ٢٥.٤.١٩٩٤م قام ابني الاكبر والمدر ~~والاخر~~ وهذا الاخر صدر للمدر ~~بما ورد~~ بمبادرة صلي للحملة المرفوع بشكل سريع حتى لا يتطور ورفضوا حملة تفصيل رغم عرضهم على ان يتم التنازل عن القضية السابقه والحاليه .

2- محاولة الصالح الثانيه التي قمنا بها .

قام الاخوه المنتميه اعناد بمبادرة صلي كذلك للتنازل عن التوقيف مع اهل الجاني الاول ولما في عشره يوماً يزعمون يومياً ~~الى~~ فيوماً يقولون لهم نورا نجمع

وتسوية من قبل ابيه على سبيل (مستطاب) لكنه رفعت هذه المبادر
والذي روضها هو الجاني نفسه . علماً بأنه ابيه مرافقه على الصلح ولكنه الجاني
واحد احواله لا يريد يوم الصلح رغم التزامها لهم بأنه يتم الصلح والتنازل في القضية
السابقة . . وتحملت انا في نفسي كثيراً لكن انا وهدد ابي الذي اعيد مقابل
ايطار السيارة ولكنه دوى بهدوى . . علماً بأنه السيارة هي نوع فئات شاحنة
تعمل بتم (مستطاب) وهذه اللوحة التي تحملها ماحص إلا لوحة سيارة صغيرة
نوع راتوبير ويملكه التفتيش سرولا .

فيما كل ما حصل وما حدث وما قصرت في سرد اي شيء لكن وصل ينبغي انه
اقتنازل الى هذا الحبر وان كل به ذكرتهم في مذكرتي هذه شهود وأماكن
ان تأسد لوهم من جهة اقولهم انهم اجهار من قوسهم وكلم من سكانه منطقة

* وأقول لكم هذا جاني انما يعني يسبح وصرح امانه انظاره وانظار
انما في مخرج من التوقف من مخرج تنازل من بعد ان اخرج ٤٥ يوماً فقط .
* وهذا ابي ثقب اطار سيارة في مخرج الرور في شخص اعطاه اخيه وازال
بالتوقف حتى كتابة مذكرتي هذه اليكم .

شكواي لله هذه اولاً والىكم ثانياً
وانتم لكم رفقة مذكرتي هذه الاخرى .

١- بانه استشهد ابي الالكي .

٢- تقرير لجنة طبر لابين الذي اعطيه

والى هذا لا يتم ينظر في قضيتي .

وانه قد اقول لكم «فتبينوا»

وحقاً اين ايديكم

بقرينة

~~بجانب~~

٢٠٥٠٩٤

نيابة شيخنا الكلية

251

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الجمهورية العربية الليبية الشعبية الاشتراكية العظمى
اللجنة الشعبية العامة للعدل والأمن العام

توب رقم / ١٥٠٠
نموعة رقم / ٨
ملف رقم / ٧
دمنة / ٢٥٠
أتماب /
توقيع محرر العقود /



مكتب محرر العقود
/ /
/ /
/ /
/ /

في تمام الساعة 11.00 من يوم الأول - شهر المء سنة الف وأربعمائة وواحد وثلاثون ميلادية الموافق ليوم 1 من شهر 5 سنة 2001 ف بمكتبى الكائن بشارع 5 أكتوبر بمبنى نقابة معلمي شعبية سبها أماسي أنا / / محرر العقود بدائرة محكمة سبها الابتدائية بموجب قرار لجنة قيد محرري العقود رقم / / والمعتمد من الأخ / أمين اللجنة الشعبية العامة للعدل والأمن العام والمسجل بجدول قيد محرري العقود بمصلحة التسجيل العقاري الاشتراكي والتوثيق تحت رقم. "وقد حضر شخصياً كل من"

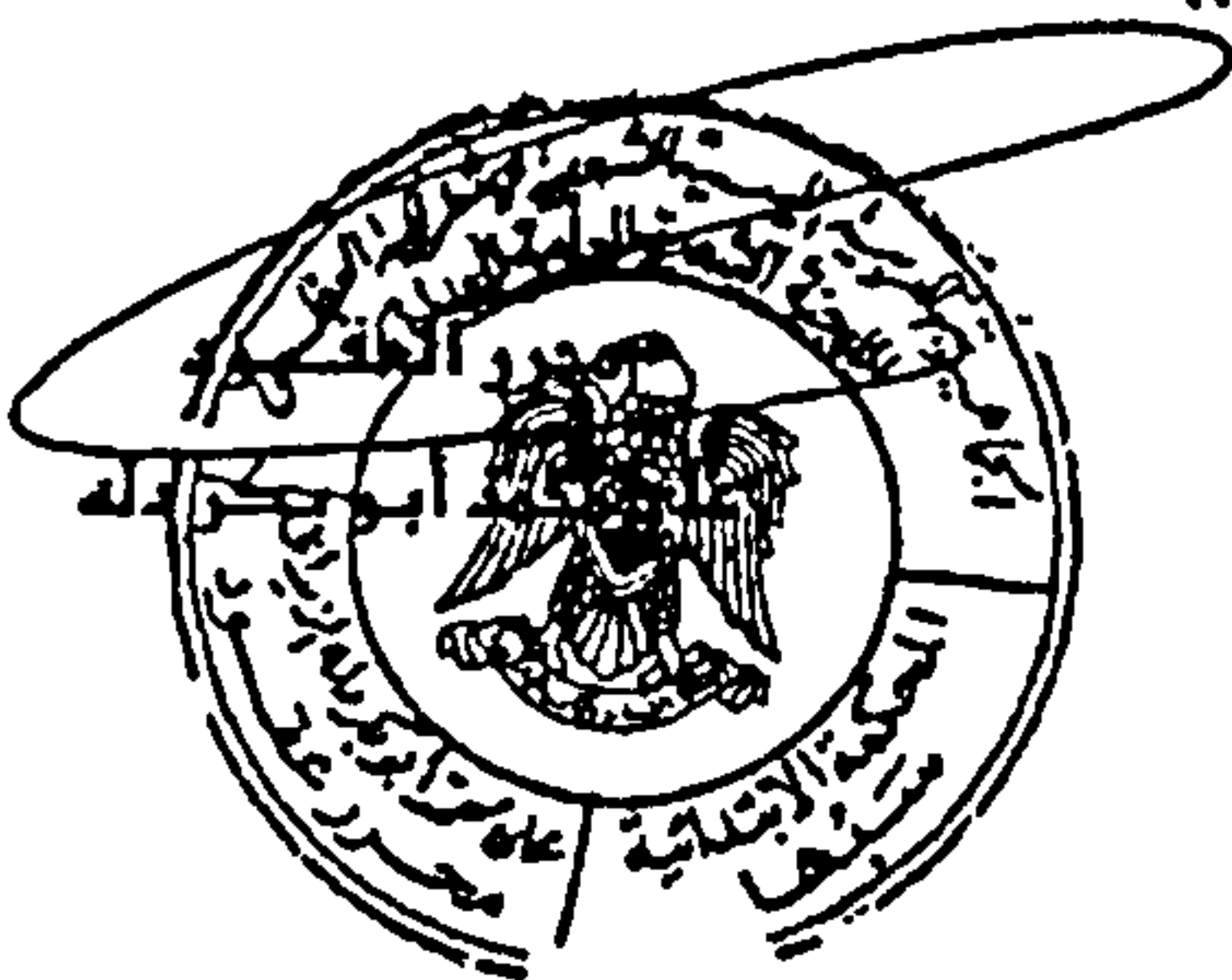
(1) الأخ / / تاريخ الميلاد 1972 ف - ليبي الجنسية - المهنة موظف - رقم البطاقة الشخصية / / سبها محل الإقامة سبها.

وقد طلب مني تحرير باسم الأخ / / - تاريخ الميلاد 1931 ف - ليبي الجنسية - المهنة متقاعد - محل الإقامة سبها.

ليقوم مقامه في التصرف بكافة التصرفات القانونية بجميع المنقولات والعقارات العائدة إليه كماله حق استلامها من أية جهة كانت وله في سبيل ذلك التوقيع نيابة عنه على كافة المستندات والأوراق ذات العلاقة.

وبما ذكر تحرر هذا العقد وبعد تلاوته على الحاضرين و بمعرفتي صرحوا أنهم وجدوه مطابقاً لإرادتهم محققاً لأغراضهم فوافقوا عليه وأقروه موقعين معي وهم بالأوصاف المطلوبة شرعاً وقانوناً.

كما التوقيع / /



مجلس الشورى
الجمعية العامة
الجمعية العامة

سنة	الجمعية العامة	الجمعية العامة	الجمعية العامة	الجمعية العامة
1936	1933	11.8.85	85/363	1
1911	1926	15.8.85	85/362	2
1944	1925	16.11.85	85/263	3
1929	1911	12.5.85	85/192	4
1935	1924	22.5.85	85/107	5
1927	1927	5.12.91	91/533	6
1926	1931	22.11.91	91/517	7
1955	1935	28.10.91	91/447	8
1955	1914	14.10.91	91/423	9
1935	1936	18.8.87	87/250	10
1922	1914	12.4.87	87/111	11
1947	1928	19.2.87	87/48	12
1926	1929	18.7.87	89/189	13
1952	1929	19.3.89	89/288	14
1955	1960	24.12.89	89/447	15
1955	1929	27.12.93	93/462	16
1935	1943	10.11.93	93/318	17
1948	1920	17.7.93	93/297	18
1977	1952	23.2.93	93/213	19
1948	1929	12.10.93	93/400	20
1930	1921	12.8.93	93/252	21
1949	1948	28.8.93	93/292	22
1941	1930	22.12.97	97/443	23
1936	1930	14.10.92	97/347	24
1959	1937	22.5.77	77/119	25
1967	1963	25.6.00	00/148	26
1923	1954	20.9.00	00/300	27
1952	1957	12.4.04	04/97	28
1925	1942	14.5.03	03/158	29
1943	1946	25.2.03	03/86	30
1951	1926	7.1.03	03/5	31
1953	1918	6.1.03	03/1.3	32

**APPENDIX EIGHT: BRITISH ASSOCIATION OF APPLIED LINGUISTICS
(BAAL) ETHICS LIST
AND
ETHICS LETTERS**

6 Responsibilities to informants

Responsibilities and relations with informants will sometimes vary according to the type of inquiry carried out, and occasionally the dilemmas and tensions between, for example, confidentiality and the public's right to know, or between anonymity and the safety of other people, will need to be negotiated case by case. The points below generally apply to all Informants, whatever their social position, but particular care needs to be taken with those who have less power to negotiate their rights.

6.1 General responsibility to informants.

Applied linguists should respect the rights, interests, sensitivities, and privacy of their informants. It is important to try to anticipate any harmful effects or disruptions to informants' lives and environment, and to avoid any stress, undue intrusion, and real or perceived exploitation. Researchers have a responsibility to be sensitive to cultural, religious, gender, age and other differences: when trying to assess the potential impact of their work, they may need to seek guidance from members of the informants' own communities. In certain types of contract research, respect for informants cannot be guaranteed, and in these cases, researchers should consider carefully whether they should continue with the project.

6.2 Obtaining informed consent.

Relationships with informants should be founded on trust and openness. They should be informed about all aspects of research that might reasonably be expected to affect their willingness to participate. The information given to efforts at the outset of a project should cover the objectives of the research, its possible consequences, and issues of confidentiality and data security. When informants differ from the researcher in the social groups they belong to, it is worth seeking guidance on social, cultural, religious and other practices which might affect relationships and the willingness to participate. In cases where the research continues over a long period, the informed consent obtained at the start of the project may no longer be adequate, and consent may need to be renegotiated. Researchers should try to obtain the real consent of children and of adults with impairments in understanding. When children under sixteen are acting as main

informants, it is also necessary to obtain the consent of parents or other adults acting in loco parentis.

6.3 Respecting a person's decision not to participate.

Informants have a right to refuse to participate in research. But applied linguists need to be aware that the power relations between themselves and their potential informants can sometimes be inadvertently misused to pressurise people to participate. It is also important to respect an informant's wish to withdraw from the study, particularly if it is not conducted in the way explicitly agreed in advance.

6.4 Confidentiality and anonymity.

Informants have the right to remain anonymous. Their confidentiality should be respected, and an attempt made to anticipate potential threats to both anonymity and confidentiality (e.g. by anonymising the data, making it secure, and sometimes even destroying it). But it is important to let informants know that it is not always possible to conceal identities completely, and that anonymity can sometimes be compromised unintentionally. Recognition of this should inform their consent.

6.5 Deception and covert research.

This is an area of particular concern in applied linguistics. Covert research and deliberate deception are unacceptable to the extent that they violate the principle of informed consent and the right to privacy. However, in some research - concerned for example with phonological variation and pragmatic variation in naturally occurring speech - there are compelling methodological reasons for informants not being fully informed about the precise objectives of the research.

In such cases, defensible options would be to:

- withhold the specific objectives of the research without deliberately misleading or giving false information (for example, informing doctors and patients that the research concerned the structure or progress of doctor-patients interviews without specifying that the aim was to study pause phenomena as an index of power);

- ask informants to consent to being deceived at some unspecified time in the future, on the grounds that the research could not be done otherwise. After the event, informants should then give their permission for the data, to be used;.
- (if there are no methodological alternatives) present the objectives of the research to informants immediately after the data has been collected, guaranteeing anonymity if consent is given and destroying the data if it is withheld.

A distinction is sometimes made between deception and distraction. In contrast to the former, distraction is generally accepted as ethical, and it can be illustrated either in, for example, the introduction of multiple activities in a psycholinguistic experiment to prevent informants monitoring themselves, or alternatively, in situations of participation observation, in which informants come to accept the researcher as one of the community. Observation in public places is a particularly problematic issue. If observations or recordings are made of the public at large, it is not possible to gain informed consent from everyone. However, post-hoc consent should be negotiated if the researcher is challenged by a member of the public.

A useful criterion by which to judge the acceptability of research is to anticipate or elicit, post hoc, the reaction of informants when they are told about the precise objectives of the study. If anger or other strong reactions are likely or expressed, then such data collection is inappropriate.

6.6 Consulting informants on completion of the research.

Wherever possible, final project reports should be made available in an accessible form to informants, and informants should have the right to comment on them.

As the discussion in section 5.1 suggested, some types of research, evaluation and consultancy make a good deal of space for informants' own priorities and perspectives. In such contexts, informants are more appositely described as 'participants'. All of the 'responsibilities to informants' described above apply to people who are more actively involved as participants in research. But some additional considerations also need to be borne in mind:

6.7 Balanced participation.

The practical consequences of the kinds of inquiry often designated action research, evaluation and consultancy, are usually much more immediate than they are in traditional research, affecting the distribution of power and resources in more obvious ways. In situations like this, where (a) participants have a significant degree of control over the research process, and (b) the political stakes are quite high, the notion of academic independence needs to be reformulated. In setting the agenda, in accessing and analysing the data, and in writing up the findings, the applied linguist may be happy to relinquish the autonomy entailed in traditional research, but she/he should take steps to avoid uncritically partisan alignment with any one interest group. In addition to the responsibilities outlined in 6.1 to 6.6, a number of checks and balances should be built into the research process to prevent it turning into advertising or propaganda:

- investigators should attend to a wide variety of perspectives on the issue, to the diverse claims made about it, to its context and history;
- no party should have privileged access to the data; the right to wholly determine the focus of the inquiry; sole access to project reports; or a unilateral veto over their contents;
- all participants should have the right to comment on the fairness, relevance and accuracy of project reports;
- all major interest groups should be represented on steering groups or management committees.

These recommendations are cited from the BAAL web site on (01.12.2004):

<http://www.baal.org.uk/goodprac.pdf>

UNIVERSITY OF
NEWCASTLE



School of Education, Communication
and Language Sciences

University of Newcastle
King George VI Building
Queen Victoria Road
Newcastle upon Tyne NE1 7RU

Head of School
Professor Li Wei BA DipEd MA PhD

28 April 2003

To Whom It May Concern:

Mr Mayouf Ali Mayouf
Student Number: 007307438

Mr Mayouf is a full-time student in the Faculty of Education, Communication and Language Sciences at this University following an Integrated PhD programme. His period of study will run from 2002-2005.

He is returning to Libya for the purpose of data collection.

Kind regards.

Yours sincerely

Frank Hardman

Dr Frank Hardman
Acting Postgraduate Research Director

Telephone • 0191 222 7385
Fax • 0191 222 6518



جَامِعَةُ سَبْهَاءِ الإدارة العامة

التاريخ /
الموافق ١١/٥٠٣٠٥٠٣

ر.إشاري ١٨٣

الى من يهمه الامر

الاخ/معيوف على معيوف

نفيدكم بأن المذكور أعلاه هو من طلبة الدراسات العليا بجامعة
سبها وموفد للدراسة العليا ببريطانيا جامعة نيوكاسل ،مدرسة علوم اللغة
وهو يقوم بأجراء بحث بمدينة سبها في مجال علم اللغة الاجتماعي.
عليه نرجوا منكم تقديم أى مساعدة يطلبها من معلومات تتعلق
ببحثه أو إجراء وتسجيل مقابلات أو ملء استبيانات وغيرها.

ولكم جزيل الشكر والتقدير

والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته



د.محمد صالح سليمان

مدير مكتب الدراسات العليا بالجامعة

صورة:الملف الشخصي

صورة:الصادر بالقسم

((ت.د.محمد.....ط.سلي))



جَامِعَةُ سَبْهَا الإدارة العامة

لتاريخ /
الموافق / 21-5-2003

ر.بشلي ١٩٥

الاخ/رئيس نيابة سبها

الاخ/معيوف على معيوف

نفيدكم بأن المذكور أعلاه هو من طلبة الدراسات العليا بجامعة سبها وموفد لدراسة الدكتوراه ببريطانيا جامعة نيوكاسل ،مدرسة علوم اللغة وهو يقوم بأجراء بحث بمدينة سبها في مجال علم اللغة الاجتماعي والدور الذي يطلع به كبار السن في المجتمع .
عليه نرجوا منكم تقديم أى مساعدة يطلبها من معلومات تتعلق ببحثه أو أجراء وتسجيل مقابلات أو ملء استبيانات وغيرها.

ولكم جزيل الشكر والتقدير

والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته

د. محمد صالح المنجد
اللجنة الشعبية للتعليم العالي
مدير مكتب الدراسات العليا بالجامعة

صورة:الملف الشخصي

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التاريخ /
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جامعة سيدها
الإدارة العامة

۱۹۹۱ ر.بشاري

الاخ/أمين السجل المدني سبها

الاخ/معيوف على معيوف

نفيدكم بأن المذكور أعلاه هو من طلبة الدراسات العليا بجامعة
سبها وموفد لدراسة الدكتوراه ببريطانيا جامعة نيوكاسل ،مدرسة علوم
اللغة وهو يقوم بأجراء بحث بمدينة سبها في مجال علم اللغة الاجتماعي
والدور الذي يطلع به كبار السن في المجتمع .

عليه نرجوا منكم تقديم أى مساعدة يطلبها من معلومات تتعلق
ببحثة أو إجراء وتسجيل مقابلات أو ملء استبيانات وغيرها.

ولكم جزيل الشكر والتقدير

والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته

د. محمد صالح بن سلیمان

مدير مكتب الدراسات العليا والبحوث

صورة: الملف الشخصي

صورة: المصادر بالقسم

((ن.د. محمد.....ط.مسی))